

A  
TREATISE,  
CONCERNING

the causes of the Magnificencie  
and greatnes of Cities, Deuided  
*into three bookes by Sig: Giouan-  
ni Botero, in the Italian tongue;  
now done into English*

By  
Robert Peterson,

Lincolnes Inne Gent.

*Dimidium plus roto.*

Scene and allowed.

---

AT LONDON,

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52 ; 06





To

The right honorable, my verie  
good Lord, Sir Thomas Egerton  
knight, Baron of Ellesmere,  
Lord high Chauncelor of England,  
and one of his Maiesties most  
honorable Priuie  
Councell.



My very good Lord, when I  
had enterteyned some of  
my free howers of vacati-  
on from other busineses,  
with the reading of this  
Author in his owne lan-  
guage; and that my li-  
king led me into this fur-  
ther trauaile with him,  
to translate him into our  
owne tongue: I thought I had yet done little for him, ex-  
cept I did also set him before the common eye of my coun-  
try, that the pleasure and proffit, which I reaped in this  
worke, might by this communication thereof, redound to  
many. And, that I might do so worthy a writer all right,  
the matter consisting of Policie and State; I could not ad-  
dresse my selfe & my translatiō of him, to one whose wise-  
dome, and graue, both experience and Iudgment, might be  
more parallell to the substance of this worke, or whose ho-  
norable

# The Epistle dedicatorie.

honorable fauour to my selfe, might require of me more  
loue and dutie, then your good Lordship. To expresse  
this, I haue been bold to commend these my labours to  
your honorable fauor, beseeching you to make  
them happy in your protection of them,  
and with them, to receaue my  
humble dutie and  
seruice; which  
resteth  
euer

Your Lordships to be commaunded,

Robert Peterfon.





*A*  
Table of all the Chapters contei-  
*ned in these three bookes, of the*  
causes of the greatnes of Cities.

*In the first Booke.*

What a Citie is, and what the greatnes of a Citie is said to be.	Fol. 1.
Of Authoritie.	2.
Of Force.	4.
How the Romanes encreased the Citie of Rome, by wast- ing their neighbour Townes.	7.
That some haue gotten the Inhabitants of other Townes in to their owne Cities.	8.
Of Pleasure.	9.
Of Proffit.	11.
Of the commoditie of the Scite.	13.
Of the fruitfulness of the Soyle.	15.
Of the commodity of Conduct.	17.

*In the second Booke.*

The proper meanes the Romanes vsed to appopulate their Cities.	30.
Of Colonies.	33.
Of Religion.	36.
Of Schooles and studies.	41.
Of the place of Iustice.	45.
Of Industrie.	47.
	Of

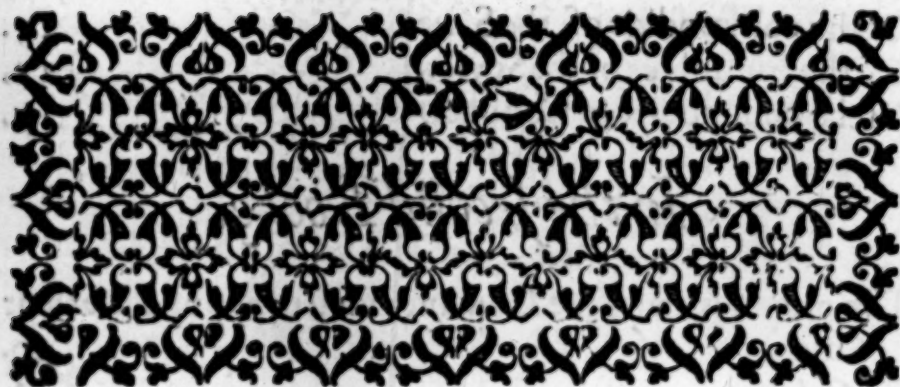


## *The Table.*

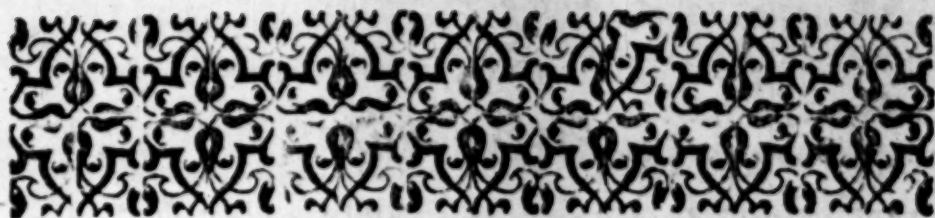
	<b>Fol.</b>
Of priuiledges.	53.
Of hauing in her possession some Merchandize of moment.	55.
Of Dominion and power.	60.
Of the Residency of the Nobility.	61.
Of the Residency of the Prince.	65.

## *In the third Booke.*

Whether it be expedient for a Citie, to haue few or many Citizens.	87.
What the reason is, that Cities once growen to a greatnes, encrease not onward according to that proportion.	89.
Of the causes that doe concerne the magnificency & greatnes of a Citie.	97.







THE FIRST BOOKE  
of *Johannes Boterus* of the causes of  
the magnificencie and greatnes  
of *Citties*.

CAP. I.

✠ *What a Citty is, and what the greatnes of a  
Citty is sayd to be.*



Citty, is sayd to be an assem-  
bly of people, a congrega-  
tion drawen together, to  
the end they may thereby  
the better liue at their ease  
in wealth and plenty. And  
the greatnes of a Citty, is  
sayd to be, not the largnes  
of the scite or the circuit of the walles; but the mul-  
titude and number of Inhabitants and their power.  
Now, men are drawen together, vpon sundry cau-  
ses, and occasions therevnto them moouing: some  
by authority, some by force, some by pleasure, and  
some by profit, that proceedeth of it.

CAP. II.  
Of Authority.

*Ain* was the first Author of Cittyes; but, the Poets (whome *Cicero* therein followed) fable, that in the old world, men scattered here and there, on the mountaines, and the plaines; led a life little different from brute beastes, without lawes, without conformity of customes, and manner of ciuile conuersation. And that afterward there rose vp some, who, hauing with their wisdom and their eloquence, wonne a speciall Reputation and Authority aboue the rest, declared to the rude and barbarous multitude, how much & how great profit they were like to enioy: if drawyng theselues to one place, they would vnite themselves into one body, by an interchangeable cōmunicatiō, & cōmerce of all things that would proceed thereof. And by this meanes they first founded Hamlets and Villages, and after Townes and Cittyes, and therevpon these Poets further feyned, that *Orpheus* and *Amphion*, drew after them, the beasts of the fields, the woods and stones: meanyng vnder these fictions, to signifie & shew the grossenes of the wits, and the roughnes of the manners of the same people. But, besides these fables, we read of *Theseus*, that after he had taken vpon him the gouernment of the *Athenians*, it came into his mynd, to vnite into one Citty, all the people that dwelt in the contry there about, dispersedly in many Villa-

Villages abroad: Which he easely effected, by manifesting vnto them, the great comodity & good that would ensue of it.

The like thing is daily at this time put in practise in *Brasill*. Those people dwell dispersed here & there *Brasill*. in caues & Cottages, (not to call them houses) made of boughes & leaues of the Palme. And for asmuch as this manner of life, to liue so dispersedly, causeth these people to remaine in that same sauage mynd of theirs, and roughnes of maner and behauour; and bringeth therewith much difficulty & hinderance to the preaching of the Gospell, to the conuersion of the Infidells, & the instruction of those that trauaile painfully, to conuert them, and to bring them to knowledge and ciuility: The Portugalls & Iesuits haue vsed extreame diligence and care, to reduce & draw them into some certaine place together, more conueniēt for their purpose; where liuing in a ciuile conuersation, they might more easely be instructed in the christian faith, and gouerned by the Magistrate & ministers of the King. So that to this purpose I might here remember thole citties that haue been built by the power, and inhabited by the authority of great Princes, or some famous cōmon weales. For the Grecians and Phœnicians, were the authors of an infinit sight of Citties. And *Alexander* the great and other Kings, erected a number more besides, whereof beare witnes the *Alexandria*, *Tholomaides*, *Antiochie*, *Lyfimachia*, *Philippopoles*, *Demetriades*, *Casarea*, *Augusta*, *Sebastia*, *Agrippina*, *Mansfredonia*, and in our time, *Cosmopolis* and the City of the Sonne.



But none deserueth more prayse in this kind, (after *Alexander* the great, who built more than three scoare and ten Cittyes,) then the King *Seleucus*, who besides many other, built three Cittyes called *Apamea*, to the honor of his wife, & five called *Laodicea*, in memory of his mother; and to the honor of himselfe five called *Seleucia*: and in all more than thirtie magnificent and goodly Citties.

## CAP. III.

*Of Force.*

Through force and ineuitable necessity people are gathered other while together into one place, whenas some imminent perill, especially of wars or ruine and vnreouerable wast and deuastacion, enforceth them to flye vnto it, to put in safety their liues or their goods: and such safety is most found in mountaines & craggy places, or small and little Ilands, or such other like, that are not easily to be approched or come vnto.

*Noe.*

After the generall deluge of the world in the time of *Noe*, while men feared their might a fresh happen such another ruin again vpon thē, they sought to secure thēselues, some by building their habitations vpon the tops of high hils, & some by aduancing huge Towers of incredible height and greatnes, euen vp to the heauens: And without doubt, for this respect, the Cittyes seated vpon the mountaines, are for antiquity the most noble: And the Towers are of the most



## The first Booke.

5

most ancient forme and kind of buildings that euer were vsed in this world. But after the feare of a new deluge was past and gone, men began to draw them selues downe, and to erect their habitations in the plaines, vntill the Terror of Armies, and the swarme and feare of fyerce and cruell people, enforced the a freih to saue them selues, on the steepe of the hilles, or in the llands of the Seas, or in the maryshes and bogges, or other such like places.

When the Moores subdued *Spaine*, & brought it into miserable seruitude & bondage: Such as escaped with their liues, out of the lamentable slaughter, that was made of them: Some retyred them selues vp to the highest mountaines of *Biscay* and of *Aragon*; and *Biscay*, some betaking them to their shipping, saued them. *Aragon*. selues in the Iland of the seauen Cittyes, so called, because seauen Bishoppes seated them selues therein with their people.

The cruell Ruine that *Tamberlan* carryed with *Tamberlan*. him wheresoeuer he came, made the people of *Persia*, & the countreyes bordering therupon, to abandon and forsake their ancient natiue countries, (like birds that are scattered,) and to saue their liues by flyght: Some, vpon the mount *Taurus*, some vpon *Anitaurus*, and some fled into the little Ilands of the *Caspian Sea*. And, as the people of *Isiria*, at the coming of the *Slau* retyred to the Iland *Capraria*, and there built *Giustinopoli*: So the people of *Gallia Transpadana*, at *Gallia trans-* the entry of the Lombards into *Italie*, saued them- *padana*. selues within the maryshes, where they built the Towne of Crema.

But, forasmuch as to the naturall strength of those places, neyther great conueniencie, either of *Territory* or *Trafique*, or good meanes to draw Trade or entercourse, lent (for the most part) any helpe vnto them: there was neuer seen Citty there, of any great fame or memory. But if the places whereto men are driuen of necessity to fly, haue in them besides their safety, any cōmodity of importance: it will be an easy thing for them to encrease, both with people, and with riches, and with buildings.

In this manner, the Citties of *Leuani*; and of *Barbarie*, became populous and great thorough the multitude of Iewes, that *Ferdinando* the King of Spayne, and *Emanuel* the King of Portingall, cast out of their Kingdomes, as in particuler, *Salonica* & *Rhodes*. And in these our dayes in England many Cittyes haue much encreased within fewe yeares, both in people and in Trade, through the resort of the lowe country people to it: and especially London, wherevnto many thousands of famylyes haue resorted themselves.

*Saracenes.*

About the yeare of the Lord. 1400. while the *Saracenes* did put to fyer & sword the *Genouaes*, & all the country there about; Pisa did mightily encrease: For, to the strength of the place, the country yeilded also plenty of al good things, & cōmodity of *trafique*.

At the cōming of *Attyla* into Italy, the people of *Lombardy*, being wonderfully affrayd, thorough the horrible wast and ruine he brought with him: fled to saue themselves, into the Ilands of the *Adriaticke Seas*, and there built many Townes & Cittyes. And  
after

after that, in the warres that *Pypin* rayld against the,  
forsaking the places that were not secure and safe y- *Rialto*.  
nough, as *Exquilinum*, *Heraclea*, *Palestin*, & *Mala-Venice*,  
*mocco*, they drew themselves neere to *Rialto*, into  
one body, and so by that meanes grew *Venice* mag-  
nificent and great.

CAP. IIII.

How the Romanes encreased the Citty of  
Rome, by wasting their neighbours  
Townes.



He Romanes, to make their owne  
country in any sort great & famous,  
furnished themselves very carefully  
euer, with strength and power. For  
to make their neighbour people of  
necessity glad, and willing to draw themselves to  
Rome, and there to dwell: they ouer-threw their  
Townes euen downe to the ground. So did *Tullus*  
*Hostilius* cast *Alba* downe to the earth, a most strong *Alba*,  
Citty: *Tarquinius Priscus* laid also playne *Cornicolo*, a *Cornicolo*.  
Citty abounding in mighty wealth. *Seruus Tullus* *Pometia*.  
made *Pometia* desert: and in the tyme of liberty *Veios*.  
they vitterly destroyed *Veios*, a Citty of such strength  
and power. that with much a doe, after a siege of ten  
yeares, it was by cunning more than strength van-  
quished and ouerthrowen.

Now these people and such other, hauing no  
dwelling place to draw themselves vnto, nor to liue  
secure and safe, they were enforst to chaunge their  
coun-



countrys with Rome, which by this meanes wonderfully waxed great, both in people and in riches.

## CAP. V.

*That some haue gotten the Inhabitants of  
other townes in to their owne  
Citties.*



He like meanes to the former, but somewhat more gentell, the Romans vsed to appopulate and make great their owne Citty: And that was, to bring the people home, whome they had subdued, or the most of the to Rome. *Romulus* in this manner, drew into the Citty the *Seninenses*, the *Antennates*, and the *Crustumini*. But no country amplified more the Citty of Rome, then the *Sabines*. For in a sharpe and mighty fight with them, after a longe and hard conflict, he made a peace: And the condition was, that *Tatius* the King of the *Sabines*, should come with all his people to dwell in Rome. Which condicion *Tatius* did accept, and made choyle of the Capitoll, and of the mount *Quirinalis* for his Seat and Pallace. The same course did *Ancus Martius* take, who gaue the hill *Auentina* to the Latines, when they were taken from their cittyes *Politorio*, *Tellena*, and *Ficana*.

*Tatius King  
of the Sa-  
bines.*

*Tamberlan.  
Sarmacan-  
da.  
Ottoman.*

The great *Tamberlan* also, he amplified & enlarged mightely the great *Sarmacanda*, in bringing to it the richest and the wealthiest persons of the cittyes he had subdued. And the *Ottomans* to make the citty of

*Constantinople.*



# The first Booke.

9

Constantinople rich and great, they haue brought to it many thousand families, especially artificers out of the cittyes they haue subdued: As, *Mahomet* the second from *Trebisonda*; *Selim* the first, from *Cairo*; and *Selim*. *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

## CAP. VI. Of Pleasure.



Men are also drawn to liue together in Society, thorough the delight and pleasure that eyther the Scite of the place, or the art of man doth minister and yeild vnto them. The Scite, by the freshnes of the ayre, the pleasant view of the valleis, the pleasing shade of the woodes, the commodity to hunt, and the abundance of good waters; Of all which good things, *Antioche* in *Soria*, is liberally endowed, and *Damascus* no lesse, & *Bursia* in *Bithinia*, *Cordona* and *Siuill* in *Spaine*, and many other good townes elsewhere. Vnto art, belongeth the straye and fayre streetes of a cittye, the magnificent & gorgeous buildings therein, eyther for Art or matter, the theaters, Porches, Circles, Rases for running horses, Fountaines, Images, Pictures, and such other excellent and wonderfull things, as delight and feede the eyes of the people with an admiration and wonder at them.

The cittye of *Thespis*, was frequēted for the excellent workmanship sake of the Image of *Cupid*. *Samos*, for the merualous greatnes of the temple. *Alexandria*, for the tower of *Pharo*. *Memfis*, for the *Pyramides*.

C

*Thespis.*  
*Samos.*  
*Alex.* *Alexandria.*  
*a.*  
*Pyra-*  
*mides.* *Memfis.*

*Rhodes.*  
*Babilon.*

*mides, Rhodes*, for the *Colossus*. And, how many shall we thinke, haue gon to *Babilon*, to see the wonderous walles that *Semiramis* had made about it? The Romans many times willingly went for their recreation sake to *Syracusa, Mytlenum, Smyrna, Rhodes* and *Pergamus*, euent to take the benyfit of the ayre, and to behold the bewty of those same cittyes. To conclude, all that euer feedeth the eye, and delighteth the sense of man, and hath any exquisite and curious workmanship in it: all that euer is rare, strange, new, vnwonted, extraordinary, admirable, magnificent, great, or singular by cunning, apperteyneth to this head.

*Rome.*

And, amongst all the cittyes of *Europe*; *Rome* and *Venice*, are the most frequented, for the pleasures and delights they minister to all the beholders of them. *Rome*, for the exceeding wonderfull reliques of her ancient greatnes. And *Venice*, for the gloriousnes of her present and magnificent estate. *Rome*, filleth the eye with wonder and delight at the greatnes of her conduits, the rarenes of her Bathes, and hugenes of her Colossi; as also at the Art of her admirable works, both in Marble and in Brasse, wrought by excellent artificers; At the heighth and hugenes of her Obeliskes, at the multitude and variety of pillers; at the diversity and fynesse of strange marble, the exquisite & curious cutting of it; The porfery, Alabaster, Marble, White, Black, Grey, Yellow, and mixt, and Serpentine; The great ruines, the hel-gates, and a number of other sorts and kinds besides which were too hard to recount, and impossible to distinguish. What shall

shall I say of the triumphall arches, of the seauen Zones or Circles? of the Temples? and what of a number of other wonders else? And what shall we imagine that Citty was, when she floryshed and triumphed; if now, while she lyeth thus defaced, & is none other then a Sepulture of her selfe, she allureth vs to see her, and feedeth vs vn satiably with the ruynes of her selfe.

On the other side *Venice*, with the wonder of her incomparable Scituation (which seemeth the Act of nature, by giuing lawes to the waters, and setting a bridell on the Sea) ministreth vnto vs no lesse admiration and wonder at it. The greatnes also of her inestimable *Arsenall*, the multitude of ships both of warre, of trafique and of Passage: The incredible number of warlike instruments, ordinance and munition, and of all manner of preparacions for the Seas: The heygth of the towers, the ryches of the Churches, the magnificēcy of the Pallaces, the beautifullnes of the Streeteres, the variety of Artes, the order of her gouernment, the beauty of the one and other sexe, doth dazell and amaze the eyes of the beholders of them.

*Venice.*

CAP. VII. *Of Profite.*



His Profit is of such power, to vnite and tye men fast vnto one place; as the other causes afore sayd, without this accompany them with all, are not sufficient to make any city great.

Not Authority alone: For, if the place whereto



men are drawen thorough the Authority of any, afford them no commodities, they will not abydenor tarry there.

Neyther yet necessity: For, such a congregation and collection of people encrease, multiplieth, and lasteth for many yeares. And, necessity is violent: And violence cannot produce any durable effect. So that it comes to passe, that not only citties do not encrease, but also States & Principalities gotten with meere strength and violence, cannot be long mainteyned. They are muchlike Land floodes, that haue no head nor spring, as Riueres haue that minister perpetually plenty of waters to them; But casually, and in a moment ryse and swell, and by and by allwage and fall againe. So that, as they are to trauaylers fearefull in their swellings, so do they fall againe within a while so fast, as trauailers may loone passe away on foote againe drye.

Such were the conquests of the Tarters, that haue so vast inuaded *Asia*, and put it to the sword: Of *Alexander* the great, of *Attyla*, of great *Tamberlan*, of *Charles* the eight, and of *Lodowick* the twelueeth King of France. And the reason therof is, that our nature is so great a louer, & longeth after commoditie so much, as that it is not possible to quiet & content her with that which is no more but necessary. For as Plants, although they be set deepe ynough within the ground, cannot for all that, last and be long kept without the fauour of the heauens, and the benefyt of raine: Euen so, the habitacions of men, enforced at first by meere necessity, are not maynteyned long



long, if profit and commodity go not companions with it; much lesse then is pleasure and delyght of any moment. For man is borne to labor, and most men attend their businesse: and the ideler sort are of no account nor reckoning, and their idlenesse is built and founded vpon the labours and the industrie of those that worke. And pleasure cannot stand without profit and commoditie, whereof she is as it were the verie fruit.

Now, suppose that profite is the verie thing from whence, as from the principall cause, the greatnesse of citties groweth: (For the same profite is not simple and of one sort, but of diuers formes and kindes.) It resteth therefore now, that we see what manner of commodity and profit is most fit, for the end whereof, we haue disputed all this while. We say then, that to make a cittie great and famous, the commoditie of the scite, the fertilitie of the soyle, and easinesse of conduct, helpeth sufficiently ynough.

CAP. VIII.

*Of the commoditie of the Scite.*



Call that a commodious Scite, that serues in such sort as many people haue thereof neede for their trafique, and transportation of their goods, whereof they haue more plenty than they need; or for receiuing of things wherof they haue scarcitie: so that this scite standing thus betweene both, partaketh with both, and groweth rich with the extreames.

I lay partaketh with the extreames, because it cannot otherwise increase the greatnesse of a cittie: Forasmuch as it must either remaine deserr, or else not serue but for a simple passage.

*Derbentū.*

*Derbentum*, a Towne seated in the Ports of the Caspian Seas, is a verie necessarie place, to goe from *Persia* into *Tartary*, or from *Tartary* into *Persia*: yet notwithstanding it neuer grew great, nor no famous cittie, and in these our dayes there is no reckoning made of it: and the reason is, for that it partaketh not of these extreames, but serueth for passage onely, and receiueth those that trauaile too and fro, not as marchants, and men of commerce and traffique, but as passengers and trauailers; and to speake in a word, it is seated sure in a verie necessarie place, as the case standeth, but not profitably vnto it selfe.

For the selfe-same cause, in the streyts of the Alpes, which for the most part doe compasse *Italy*, although the Frenchmen, Swyzers, Dutch-men, & Italians continually do passe by them: there neuer yet was found a meane cittie; much lesse any great and stately one.

*Sues.*

The like may be sayd of many other good citties and places. For *Sues* is a verie necessarie place for them that came out of the Indies by the red Sea, to *Cayrus*. The llands of Saint *Iames*, and the *Palme* and *Terzeras*, are necessarie for the Portugals, and Spaniards to sayle to the *Indies*, *Brasill*, and to the new World: yet neither is there, nor neuer will bee in those same places, cittie of good importance. As neither also is there in the llands, between *Denmark*, and *Suetia*, nor yet betweene *Mare Germanicum*, and  
*Mare*

*Mare Balticum*. And *Flushing*, although it be situated in a passage of incredible necessity, for the commerce and traffique that is between the Flemings, Englishmen, and other Nations: yet neuer grewe it great, but still remaines a verie little towne. But contrarywise *Genewa* is a great cittie, and so is *Venice*, because they partake of the extreames, and serue onely for passages, but much more for Store houses, Cellerage, and Ware houses of marchandize, most plentifully brought vnto them: And so is likewise *Lysborne*, *Antwerpe*, and some other. It sufficeth not inough therefore to the making of a cittie magnificent and great, that the scite thereof be necessarie; but it must withall be commodious to other countreys that are borderers or neere vnto it.

CAP. IX.

Of the fruitfulness of the Soyle.



He second cause of the greatnes of a city, is the fruitfulness of the country. For, the Sustenance of the life of man, consisting on Foode and Cloathing, and both of them gotten out of those things the Earth doth produce; the fruitfulness of the country cannot but be a mighty helpe vnto it. And, if it fall out to be so great, as it not only well sufficeth to maintaine the Inhabitants thereof, but also to supply the wants of their bordering neighbours: It serueth our purpose so much the better. And, forasmuch as all Soyles produce not all things; How much



much more rich and more able a country shalbe to produce diuers and sundry things of profit and commoditie: So much the more sufficient and fyt it will be found to rayse a great citty. For, by that meanes it shall haue the lesse need of others, (which enforceth people other while to leaue their habitations,) and be able to afford the more to others (which draweth our neighbors the sooner to our country.)

But, the fruitfulness of the Land, sufficeth not simply of it selfe alone to rayse a citty vnto greatnes: For many Prouinces there are, and they very rich, that haue neuer a good citty in them. As for Example, *Piemont* is one: And there is not a country through out all Italy, that hath more plenty of Corne, Cattell, Wine, and of excellent fruits of all sorts, than it hath. And it hath mainteined for many yeares, the Armies and forces both of *Spaine* and *Fraunce*. And in *England* (*London* excepted,) although the country do abound in plenty of all good things: yet is there not a city in it that deserues to be called great. As also in *Fraunce* (*Paris* excepted) which notwithstanding, is not seated in the fruitfullest country of that great kingdome. For, in pleasantnes, it giueth place to *Turen*; in abundāce of all things, to *Xanton* and *Poitiers*; In varyety of Fruites, to *Languedock*; in comodioufnes of the Seas, to *Normandie*; In store of wine, to *Burgundie*; in abundance of Corne, to *Campagna*; In cyther of both, to the country of *Orliens*; in Cattell, to *Brittaine* and the territorie of *Burges*.

By all which it doth appeare, that to the aduancing of a city vnto greatnes, it sufficeth not simply of  
it

*Piemont.*

*England.*  
*London.*

*Fraunce.*  
*Paris.*

it selfe alone, that the territorie be fruitfull. And the reason thereof is plaine; For, where a countrie doth plentifully abound with all maner of good things, the Inhabitants finding all those things at home that are fit, necessary, and profitable for their vse; neyther care, nor haue cause to goe any where else to seeke them, but take the benefit and vse of the with ease where they grow. For, euery man loues to procure his comoditie with the most ease he may: and when they finde them with ease at home, to what end should they trauaile to fetch them elsewhere? And this reason prooues the more stronge, where the people affect and long least after vaine and idle delights and pleasures.

It sufficeth not therefore to the gathering of a Societie of people together, to haue abundance of wealth and substance alone; But there must be besides that, some other forme & matter to vnite and hold them in one place together. And that is, the easines and commodiousnes of conduct, the carying out and bringing in I meane of comodities of wares too and froe.

CAP .X. *Of the Commodity of Conduct.*



His commodity is lent vnto vs, partly of the land, and partly of the water.

Of the Land, if it be plaine. For, by that meanes, it conduceth easely the marchādize and goods of all sorts and kinds, vpon Carts, Horses, Mules, & other beasts of burden. And men make their iorneyes the more

D

commo-

commodiously on foote, on Horse, in Chariot, and in other such like sort and maner.

*Coaches  
with sailes.*

The Portugalls do write, that in some large and spacious plaines of *China*, they vse Coaches with sailes: Which some assaid not many yeares since in *Spaine*.

Of the water: this commoditie is lent vs, if it be nauigable. And without comparison, the commoditie is much better, and more worth far, which the water doth afford vs, than which the earth doth giue vs both for ease and speedines. Forasmuch as in lesse time, and with lesse charge and labor (without proporcion in it) greater cariages are brought from countries most remote, by water, than by land.

*Sea.*

*Riuer.*

*Lake.*

*Chanell.*

*Mireum in*

*Egypt.*

Now, your nauigable water is either of the Sea, or of the riuer, or of the lake, which are naturall helps and means: or of Chanells, or of Pooles, as that of *Mireum in Egypt*, which was 450. miles about, made by art, and mans industrie and labor.

\* *Comm-  
nication.*

It seemes in very truth, that God created the water, not only for a necessarie Element to the perfection of nature: But more than so, for a most readie meanes to conduct and bring goods from one country to another. For his diuine maiestie, willing that men should mutually embrace each other, as members of one body: diuided in such sort his blessings, as to no nation did he giue all things, to the end that others hauing need of vs, and contrarywise we hauing need of others, there might grow a \* *Cōmunitie*, and from a *Communitie Loue*, and from *Loue an vnitie* betweene vs.

And



And to worke this community the easier, he produced the water. Which of nature is such a substance, that through the grossenes thereof, it is apt to beare great burdens: And through the liquidnes, holpen with the windes, or the oares, fit to carry them to what place they list. So that by such a good meane, the West is ioyned with the East, and the South with the North. And a man might say, that what so growes in one place, growes in all places, by the easie meanes provided to come by them.

Now without doubt, the Sea, for her infinit greatnes and grossesse of the water, is much more profitable than the Lakes, or the Rivers. But, the Sea serues you to little purpose, if you haue not a large and safe Port to ride into: I say large, either for the greatnes, or for the depth in the entrie thereat, the middest and the extreames. And I say safe, either from all, or from many windes, or at least from the most blustering and most tempestuous.

It is held, that, amongst all windes, the Northerne is most tollerable, and that the Seas that are troubled on the Greekish coast, cease their rage and wax quiet as soone as the winde is laide, But the Southern windes trouble them, and beate them so fore (where of the Gulfe of *Venice* is an vndoubted wit) esthat euen after the winde is laid, they swell and rage a great while after.

Now the Port shalbe safe, either by nature, as that of *Messina* and *Marsiles*; or else by art, the Imitator of nature, as that of *Genoua* and of *Palermo*.

Lakes are, as it were little Seas. So that also they

for the proporcion of the place, and other respects besides, gaue a great helpe to appopulate townes and citties; As it is found in *Noua Hispania*, where as is the *Lake of Mexico*, which extendeth nine hundred miles in compasse, and conteineth 50. faire aud goodly townes in it: Amongst the which there is the Towne *Themistitan*, the Metropolitan seate of that great and large Kingdome.

*Riuers.*

The Riuers also import much; and most of all they that runne the longest course, especially through the richest and most merchantable Regions, such as is *Po* in *Italie*, *Scaldas* in *Flanders*, *Ligeris* & *Sona* in *France*, *Danubius* and the *Rhene* in *Germanie*. And as *Lakes* are certaine seuerall remembrances of the bowmes of the Gulphes of the Seas, formed and made by nature: Euen so Chanells, whereinto the water of the Lake or the Riuer runneth, are certaine Imitations, and as it were shadowes of the same Riuers made by skill and cunning.

*Chanell.*

*Nilus.*  
*Heroum.*  
*Mare ru-*  
*brum.*

The ancient Kings of *Egipt* made a ditch, that from *Nilus* ranne to the city *Heroum*; & they assaid to draw a Chanell from the Red Sea to *Mare Mediterraneu*, to knit our Seas with the *Indian Seas*, and so to make the easier transportation too and fro of all kindes of merchandize, and by that meanes withall to enrich their owne Kingdome. And it is a thing well knowē, how oft it hath been attempted to breake vp *Isthmus*, to vnite the *Sea Ionium* with *Mare Aegaeum*. A Souldier of *Cayro* drewe a chanell from *Eufrates* to the cittie of *Alepo*. In *Flanders* you may see both at *Gant* and at *Bruges*, and in other places else besides,

*Cayrus.*  
*Alepo.*  
*Gant &*  
*Bruges.*

many

many Chanels made by art, and with an inestimable  
 expence and charge; but yet of much more profit for  
 the ease they bring to merchandizing, and to the tra-  
 fique of other nations. And in *Lombardy* many cities  
 haue wisely procured this ease vnto them: But none  
 more then *Milan*, that with one Chanell (worthy of *Milan*,  
 the Romaines glorie) draweth the waters to it of  
*Thesinum* and of the Lake called *Lago Maggiore*, and *Thesinum*.  
 by such meanes enricheth it selfe with infinit store *Lago mag-*  
 of merchandizes, and with an other chanell also be- *giore*.  
 nefiteth much by the Riuer *Adda*: through the op-  
 portunitie and meanes it hath thereby to bring in  
 the fruites and the goods of their exceeding plenti-  
 full countrie, home vnto their houses: And they  
 should make it much the better, if they would cleanse  
 and scower the Chanell of *Paia* and *Iurea*.

Now in chanells and in Riuers, for their better  
 ease of conduct and of trafique, besides the length  
 of their courses we haue before spoken; the depth, *Depth*.  
 the pleasantnes, the thicknes of the water, and the *Pleasantnes*.  
 largnes thereof is of much moment to them. The *Thicknes*.  
 depth, bycause deepe waters beare and susteine the *Largenes*.  
 greater burdens, and the nauigation is the more safe  
 without perill. The Pleasantnes, bycause it makes  
 the nauigation easie vp and downe which way soe-  
 uer you bend your course. Wherein it seemes to  
 some, they haue been much mistaken that had the  
 ordering of the Chanell that comes from *Thesinum*,  
 to *Milan*. Forasmuch as by the great fall of the wa-  
 ter, and the great aduantage giuen to the water, it  
 hath so strong a currant, and is so violent, that with



*Gallia.  
Belgica.  
Celtica.*

*Flanders.*

infinite toyle, and labor and losse of time, they haue much a do to saile vpward. But as towching Riuer, nature hath shewed her selfe very kinde to *Gallia Celtica* and *Belgica*: forasmuch as in *Gallia Celtica*, the riuer for the most part, are most calme and full, and therefore they saile vp and downe with incredible facilitie, because many of them come forth, as it were in the plaines & euen grounds: By the meanes whereof their course is not violent, and they runne not between the mountaines, nor yet a short and little way, but many hundred miles through goodly and euen plaines. Where, for their recreation and their pleasure, otherwhile men take their course one way, another while another, now go on forwardes, and then turne back againe: and so, by this winding and turning too and fro, they helpe diuers cities and prouinces with water and victualls, or other such things as they need. But there is not a country in *Europe*, better furnished and prouided of Riuer, than that part of *Gallia Belgica*, that comonly we call *Flanders*. The Meuse, the Schelde, the Mosella, Teuora, Ruer and Rhene, deuided into three great Armes or branches, runne pleasantly and gallantly forthright and ouerthwart the Prouince, & mightely enrich it by the comoditie of nauigation & trafique of infinite treasure, which certainly wants in *Italie*. For, *Italie* being long and strait, and parted in the midst with the *Apennine Hills*: the Riuer of *Italie*, through the shortnes of their course, cannot neither much encrease, nor yet abate the violence of their Streames.

The Riuer of *Lombardy*, come all as it were, either out of the *Alpes*, as *The sinum*, *Adda*, *Lambro*, *Ser-uo*, & *Adiga*: or out of the *Apennine hills*, as *Tarro*, *Lenza*, *Panarus*, & *Rhene*, and but a short way neither, wherein they rather deserue to be called land floods, than Riuer: For, they soone find out the *Po*, which takes his course between the *Apennine hills*, & the *Alpes*. So that he only resteth nauigable. For washing this Prouince ouer by all his whole length, he hath time to growe great, and enrich himselfe with the helpe of many Riuer, and to moderate his naturall swiftnesse by the long way he maketh. But this take withall, that forasmuch as the sayd Riuer, thorough the shortnesse of their course, enter and meet together with a mightie rage and violence, they wax great otherwhile, and swell and runne with such a raging course, as they make the strongest Citties afraide of them, much more the Country thereabout. But the Riuer of *Romagna*, and of other parts of *Italy*, falling like raging Land-floods, partly on this side, and partly on that side of the *Apennine hills*, soone find out the *Adriaticke*, or the *Tyrrhenian*, or the *Ionian Seas*. So that the most of them haue no time to flake their rage, nor none of them haue so much time to grow great, as might make them nauigable. For that little that is nauigable in *Arno*, or in *Tiber*, it is not worth the speaking.

Riuer of  
*Romagna*.

The thickenesse of the water, is also a verie good helpe in this case. For, it cannot be denied, that the water of one Riuer, beareth great and waighty burdens much better, than the water of some other.

And

*Tiber.*  
*Nilus.*

And in particuler, when the Obelisk (set vp in the time of *Sextus* the fift) which is to be seene at this day in Saint Peters street, was brought to Rome; It is well knowen by good experience, the water of *Tiber* was of more strength and of more force and firmenesse, than the water of *Nilus*.

And *Seina* a meane riuer in *France*, beareth ships of such bulke, and carieth burdens so great, that he that sees it not, will not beleue it. And there is not a riuer in the world, that for proportion, is able to beare the like burden. So that, although it excede not a mediocritie, and be but a small riuer; yet notwithstanding, it supplieth wonderfullly all the necessities and wants of *Paris*, a citie that in people and in abundance of all things exceedeth far all other cities whatsoeuer within the scope of Christendome.

*Questio.*

Here a man might aske me how it comes to passe, that one water should beare more burden than another?

*Nilus.*

Some will, that this proceedeth from the nature of the earth that thickneth the water and maketh it stiffe, and by consequence firme and solide. This reason hath no other opposition but *Nilus*, the water whereof is so earthie and so muddie, that the Scripture calleth it the Troubled riuer. And it is not to be dronke before it be purged and settled well in the Cesterne. And it doth not only water & mellow all *Egipt* ouer with its liquidnes, but more than that maketh it fertile, and mucketh as it were the ground with its fatnes. And yet it is not of the fittest nor the strongest to susteine and beare shipps, boats, or barks  
of



of any good burden, wherevpon I should thinke, that for such effect and purpose, wee should not so much preferre the muddinesse of the water, as the sliminesse thereof: for that doth glew it, as it were together, and thicken it the better, and maketh it more fit, and more apt to beare good burden.

But some man might aske me here again: from whence cometh this quality, this diuersity (I mean) of waters? I must answer, it comes of 2. causes. First, from the very breaking or bursting of it out, and passage along thorough rich, rank, & fat Countreys. For, riuers participating of the nature of the grounds that make them their beds & banks, become thereby themselves also fat and slimy, & of quality much like to oyle. The next cause, proceedeth from the swiftnes & the shortnes of the course. Forasmuch as the length of a voyage, & the rage of the Riuers maketh thin, & subtileth the substance, and breaks & cuts in sunder the slimines of the water: (which happeneth in *Nilus*) For, running in a maner as it doth, 2000. miles by a direct line, (for by an oblique & crooked line, it would be a great deale more) and falling from places exceeding steepe and headlong, where (through the vehemency & violent force of the course, & by the inestimable rage of the fall, it breaketh & dissolueth all into a very small and fine raine as it were) it waxeth so fine and subtile, and so tyreth his waters, that they loose all their slimie properties, which resteth all at the Riuers of *Almaigne* and of *Fraunce*. For, they grow and walke thorough most rich and pleasant Countreys, and they be not ordinarily swift nor violent. Now, that

*Resolution.*

this is the true reason thereof: the water of *Senna* shall make a true prooffe of it: for if you wash your hands with it, it scowreth like soape, and clenseth you of all manner of spots.

But let vs now passe to the widenesse: and that is necessarie to beginne withall in Riuer, and in Channels of which we speake of, that they should be wide and large, that Shippes may commodiously winde and turne heere and there at their will and pleasure, and giue way each to other. But the widenesse of a Riuer without depth, serues not for our purpose: for it dissipateth and disperleth the water in such sort, that it maketh it vnfit for nauigation, which happeneth to the riuer of *Plare*, which through ouer much widenesse, is for the most part lowe, and of vneuen bottome, and full of rocks and little llands. And for the selfe same cause, the riuers of *Spaine*, are not greatly nauigable; for they haue large bellies, but they spread wide, and vneuen they are, and vncertaine. And thus much sufficeth to haue sayd of Riuer.

Now, forasmuch as the commodities and profits are such and so great which the water bringeth to aduance the greatnesse of a Cittie: of consequent those citties must be the fayrest and the richest that haue the most store of nauigable Riuer. And euen such are those citties that are seated vpon good Hauens of the Seas, riuer, or lakes, that are commodious, apt and fit for sundrie nauigations.

It may seeme to some, that with the easinesse of conduct, the foundation is now found out, and full complement and perfection of the greatnesse of a  
cittie

cittie. But it is not so, for it behoues besides that, that there be some matter of profite, that may draw the people, and cause them to repaire to one place more than to another. For where there is no commoditie of conduct, the multitude of people cannot bee great, which the Hills and Mountaines teacheth vs; on which wee may well see many Castles and little townes, but no store of people, that we might thereby call them great. And the reason is, because of the craggidnesse and steepnesse of their scites, such things as are necessarie and commodious for a ciuile life, cannot bee brought vnto them without an infinite toyle and labour. And *Fiesole* became desert, and *Florence* frequented vpon none other cause, than that *Fiesole* standeth on too steepe, and too high a place almost vnaccessible: & *Florence* in a verie plaine, easie to haue accessse vnto it. And in *Rome* we see the people haue forsaken the *Auentine* and other hills there, & drawne themselus altogether downe to the plaine and places neereft vnto *Tyber*, for the commoditie which the plaine and the water affordeth to the conduct of goods and traffique.

*Fiesole.*

*Florence.*

*Rome.*

But where conduct and carriage is easie, you see not for all that, a notable and famous cittie by and by. For without question, the port of *Messina* is farre much better: than the port of *Naples*, that notwithstanding *Naples*, if you behold the people, exceedeth more than two *Messinas*. The port of *Carthage* exceeds in all respects, the porte of *Genoua*: and yet *Genoua* for multitude of people, for wealth, and for all manner of good things besides, mightily ex-

*Messina.*

*Naples.*

*Carthage.*

*na.*

*Genoua.*



*Catharo.* ceedeth *Carthagena*. What Port is more faire, more  
late, or more spacious, than the Chanell of *Catharo*?  
And yet is there not any memorable Cittie in that  
place.

*Perù.* What shall I say of Riuer? In *Perù*, there is the Ri-  
*Maragnone* uer *Maragnone*, which (it is sayd) doth runne (a mar-  
a riuer in ueilous thing to report) six thousand myles in length,  
*Perù.* and is in breadth, at the mouth thereof, three score

*The riuer of* myles and more. You haue the Riuer of *Plate* there  
*Plate.* by; which though it giue place to *Maragnone* for the  
length of his streame and course: it beareth yet more  
water a great deale. And, at the mouth of it, they say  
it is one hundred & fiftie myles wyde. In new *France*,

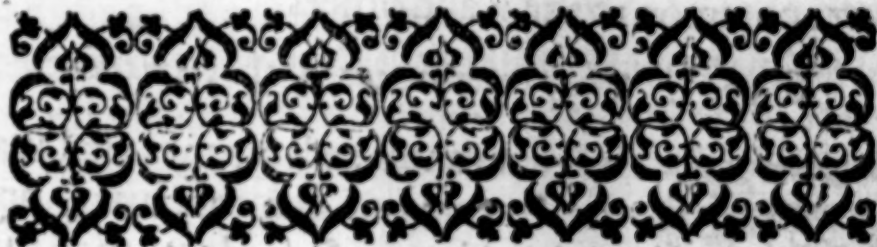
*Riuer of* there is the Riuer of *Canada*, wyde at the mouth  
*Canada.* thirtie fiue myles, and 200 fathame deepe. In *A-*  
*Angola* *frica*, there are also verie great Riuer, *Senaga*, *Gam-*  
*foce.* *bea*, and *Coanza*, which last, is a riuer late found out  
in the Kingdome of *Angola*, which is thought to be  
wyde at the mouth 35 myles: And yet amongst these,  
there is not a famous citie to be found. Nay further,

*Riuer of* on the riuer of *Coanza*, the barbarous people there,  
*Coanza.* liue in dennes, and hyde themselues in caues coue-  
red with boughes, in the companie & fellowship, as  
it were, of crabbes and lobsters, which through vse  
and custome grow wonderous familiar and secure  
with them.

*Riuers.* In *Asia*, although *Menan*, which in their language  
*Menan.* signifieth the mother of riuers, and *Meicon*, which is  
*Meicon.* nauigable for more than two thousand miles, and  
*Indus.* likewise *Indus*, and other royall riuers be sufficiently  
*Obuius.* inhabited: yet for all that *Obuius*, which is the great-  
est

est there amongst them. (For, where it falleth into the *Scithian Ocean*, it is 80. myles broad : which makes some men think the *Mare Caspium* disburdeneth it selfe that way into the *Ocean*) hath not any famous citie in it.

After this, another question also ryseth; how it comes, if the commodious meanes of conduct doe at full accomplish the greatnes of a citie; How, I say it comes to passe, where vpon the Shoare of one selfe riuer, the conduct is euen easie, and a like; that one Citie yet, is greater than an other? Without doubt, it sufficeth not alone that the transportation of goods too and fro, be easie and commodious : but there must be else besides that, some peculiar vertue attractive, that may draw men, and allure men more to one place than to another, where-  
of we shall in the next booke speake  
more at large.



E 3 OF

OF THE CAUSES OF  
the greatnes and magnificencie  
of *Cities*.

THE SECOND BOOKE.



Ytherto haue we spoken of aptnes of the scite, of the fruitfulness of the soyl, & of the commodious transportation of commodities, too and fro, for the helpe and encrease of our Citie. Let vs now se what those things are, that may allure the people (who are of nature indifferent to be heere or there) to the choyse of one place before another, to make their habitacions in; and what causeth commerce and traffique. And let vs first declare the proper meanes, the Romaines tooke, and then afterward, the meanes that generally were common to them and others.

CAP. I. *The proper meanes of the Romaines.*



He first meanes the Romaines vsed, was the opening of the Sanctuary and giuing libertie & fredome to all that would, to come vnto them which *Romulus* did, to the end (his neighbours at that time euill entreated by Tyrants. and the cuntry swarming full with discontented persons)



sons) Rome might by that meanes, be the sooner peopled through the benefite of their safety they were sure to finde there, neither was he therein deceived a whit; for thither flockt with their goods a number of people that were either thrust out of their habitations, or vn safe and vn sure of their liues in their countreys. But when they found afterward a want of women necessarie for propagation; *Romulus* proclaimed certaine great and solemne feasts, at which he stole and held away by force, the greatest part of the youngest women, that did resort to see them; so that it is no maruaile, if out of so fierce and stout a people, there rose so fierce and stout an yssue.

The verie same reason in a manner in these our daies, hath encreased so much the city of *Geneua*: for as much as it hath offered entertainment to all comers out of *Fraunce* and *Italy*, that haue either forsaken, or been exiled their countreys for religion sake. And the same Countrey of *Germany* (they call *Francorum Vallem*) by the sufferance of *Cassimire* one of the Count Palatins of *Rhene*, later erected by the Belgians, that were for Religion thrust out of their countreis, hath doneth like.

*Cosmus* the great Duke of *Tuscan*, to appopulate the Port *Ferato*, gaue protection to such as would flye thither and confined a number, that for their offences had worthily deserved punishment. Which course the great Duke *Franciscus* his Sonne obserued afterward for the peopling of *Pisa* and *Liorno*. But as we haue afore layd, it is neither strength nor necessitie

necessity, that haue power to make a citie frequented, or to rayle it vnto greatnes. For a people enforced, and violently driuen to rest in one place: is like vnto seede sown in the Sands, wherein it neuer taketh root to grow vnto ripenes.

But let vs returne vnto our sanctuarie. It cannot be denied, but that a moderate libertie and a lawfull place of safetie, very greatly helpeth to draw a multitude of people to a resting place. And, hereof it comes, that free Cities are (in cōparison of other places) more famous & more replenished with people, then Cities subiect vnto Princes & to monarchies.

*Municipiū.* (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers  
*is euery City* of their Franchises and of their offices. For, these  
*or towne* honors, to be Citizens of Rome, and to enioy the  
*hauing the* great priuiledges annexed to their enfranchisemēt,  
*liberty that* drewe into the City all such, as through adherencie,  
*Rome had.* through fauour, or through seruice done vnto the  
 common weale, might haue any hope to beare office or rule therein: and such as lookt not so high, resorted yet thither, to serue their kinsmens turnes or their friends with their voices, to aduance them to some good office. And, thus Rome was frequented and enriched with concourse of an infinit sight of people, both noble and rich, that in particular or in common were honored with the enfranchisement and freedome of Rome.

The third meanes, was the continuall entertainment the Romaines gaue to curiositie. And, that was

was the great number of admirable things they did in Rome: The triumphes of the victorious Capitaines; the wonderfull buildings; the battailes on the water; the fights of sword players; the hunting of wilde beastes; the publique shewes and sights; the playes of *Apollo*: the Seculars & others, which were performed with vnspeakable pompe and preparation, and many other such like things that drew the curious people vnto Rome. And for asmuch as these alluring sights, were as it were perpetuall: Rome was also as it were perpetually full of strangers and forreine people.

CAP. II.

Of Colonies.



What shall we say of Colonies? were they a good help to the greatnes of Rome, or no? That they were a great helpe to the encrease of the power, it cannot be doubted: But, that they multiplied also the number of the Inhabitants, it is a thing somewhat doubtfull. Howbeit for mine owne opinion, I should think they were a great helpe & meanes vnto it. For, if any man thinke, by taking the people out, & sending them to Colonies else where, that the Citty thereby comes rather to diminish then encrease: happely for all that, the contrary may happē.

F

For,



For, as plants cannot prosper so well, nor multiply so fast in a nurserie, where they are set and planted nere together, as where they are transplanted into an open ground: euen so men make no such fruitfull propagation of children, where they are inclosed and shut vp within the walles of the Cittie, they are bred and borne in ; as they doe abroad in diuers other parts, where they are sent vnto. For, sometimes the Plague, or other contagious sicknesse or disease consumeth them ; sometimes Famine enforceth them to change their habitations ; sometimes forraïne Warres takes out of the world the stowtest men amongest them ; sometimes ciuile warres make the quietest sort forsake their dwellings ; And, from many, pouertie and miserie taketh away the minde, the meanes, and the spirite to wedde, or thinke on pro-gation.

Now, they that might haue died in Rome, with the aforesayd euills, & without children ; being remooued to other places, escape the forelayd perils ; And, beig bestowed in *Colonies*, & prouided for both of house & ground to it ; betake themselues to wiues and children, & to propagate & breede them vp, and so increase infinitely, & of ten, become an hundred.

But, what is this to the purpose (may some man say ? ) Let vs suppose that they that are sent into *Colonies*, would not encrease their Countrey, if they tarried at home ? How should they then encrease it, when they are sent thence abroad to other places ? well ynough. First, because *Colonies* with their mother, out of which they yssued, make, as it were,  
but

but one bodie. Then next, because the loue of our originall Countrey, which euerie man affecteth, and the dependencie thereof (which many waies help) and the desire and hope to aspire to dignitie and honour, which euermore draw vnto it the worthiest & most noble minds. By which meanes the Countrey growes to be more populous and rich.

Who can denie, but that the 30. Colonies, that ysfued as it were out of one stocke, from *Alba Longa*, *Alba longa*, and so many besides as Rome hath sent out; brought not much magnificencie and greatnesse, both to the one and the other? And, that the Portugalls ysfited out of *Lysbone*, to possesse and inhabit the Ilands of *Astori*, *Capo Verde*, *Medera*, and others; haue not amplified and encreased *Lysbone* a great deale more, than if they had neuer remooued thence to those same Ilands?

Howbeit, true it is, if *Colonies* must increase their mother; It is verie necessarie then they bee neere neighbors: otherwise, through longe distance of place, loue waxeth cold, and all commerce is cut off cleane. And, therefore the Romanes for the space of 600. yeeres, sent not a *Colonia* out of *Italy*, and the first were *Carthage* and *Narbona*; as is at large before declared, in my sixt Booke *Di Ragion di stato*, in the chapter of *Colonies*. This chapter here mentioned, is written at large in the end of this booke.

And these be the means, wherewith the Romanes either through their singuler dexteritie, or excellent wits haue drawne strange Nations vnto their Cittie. Let vs now speake of the meanes that other Nations also, as well as they, haue vsed in this case; where it

shall not bee from the purpose, that we beginne at Religion first, as at the thing, that ought to be the head and spring of all our workes and actions.

CAP. III. Of Religion.



Religion, and the worshippe of God, is a thing so necessary & of such importance; as without all doubt, it not onely draweth a number of people with it, but also causeth much commerce together. And, the Cities that in this kinde excell and flourish

in authoritie and reputacion aboue others: haue also the better meanes to encrease their power & glory.

Hierusalem (as *Plinie* writeth) was the chiefeft & most flourishing Citie of all the East, and principally for religion, whereof she was the Metropolitan, as also of the kingdome. The high priests, the prelates & the Leuites, kept there their residence; there offered they their beasts: there celebrated they their Sacrifices, & rendered vnto God their prayers & petitions; thither repayred thrise a yeare, all the people almost of *Israell*. Insomuch as *Iosephus* reckoneth, that at the time that *Titus Vespasian* laid his siege vnto it, there were in the Citie two millions & a halfe of people: a nūber in truth very strange, that I may not say incredible, in respect the Citie was not much aboue 4 miles about. But, it is written by a man that

2. Millions  
and a halfe  
of people in  
Hierusalem  
which was  
but 4. myles  
about.

might



might haue perfect knowledge of it, and had no cause to lye.

*Ieroboam*, when he was chosen King of *Israel*, aduisedly considering his subiects could not liue without exercise of religion & vse of sacrifice, and that, if they should repayre to *Hierusalem* to celebrate and make their sacrifice, his people wold soon vnite themselves with the Tribe of *Iuda*, and the house of *Dauid*: casting religiō off, he set vp straight Idolatry. For, he caused to be made two calves of gold, & sending thē to the vttermost parts of his kingdome, turning to his people, he sayd vnto them: *Nolite ultra ascendere in Hierosolimam: Ecce dñi tui Israel qui te eduxerunt de terra Aegypti.*

Religion is of such force & might to amplifie Cities, to amplifie Dominions, and of such a vertue attractiue: that *Ieroboam*, to giue no place to his competitor, in this part of alluremēt & entertainmēt of the cōpanie, impiously brought in Idolatrie in place of true religion. And this man was the first, that, for desire to reigne, did openly tread downe the lawe, and all due worship vnto God, and thereof gaue a lewd example to posteritie: A notable note in truth, not so much of follye, as of extreame impiety.

Some that arrogat too much wisdomē to themselves in matters of state and gouernment, spare not to say and teach, that, to hold the subiects in due obedience to their Prince, mans witt & pollicye preuaileth more, then dyuine or godly counsell: A speech & an inuention in very truth, rather of a miscreant & caterpillar of a common weale, than of a louer and

a fauorer of the maiesty of a state. For, such are the Ruines of Kings; the plague of Kingdomes; the scandall of Christianities; the sworne enemyes of the church, nay rather of God, against whōe, to the Imitation of the ancient Gyants, they build vp a new Tower vnto Babel; which shall breed and bring vnto them, in the end, confusion and vtter Ruine.

*Qui habitat in caelis iridebit eos, & dominus subfannabit eos.* Heare ye Princes, what the prophet Isay sayth of the councellors of King Pharaο. *Sapientes consiliarij Pharaonis, dederunt consilium insipiens: Deceperunt Aegyptū, angulum populorum eius. Dominus miscuit in medio eius spiritum vertiginis, & errare fecerunt Aegyptū in omni opere suo, sicut errat ebrius vomens.*

\* Irreligious  
people.

Yf this place would suffer it, I could easilie shew, that the greatest part, of the losse of States and ruines of christian Princes, haue proceeded of this accursed variance in religion. Through the which we are disarmed and deprived of the protection and fauor of allmighty God; And, haue thrust into the hands of the Turkes and \**Infidels*, the weapons and the scourges of Gods diuine Iustice against vs. But it sufficeth here to aduise Princes, that tread down the lawes of God by that preposterous & wicked kinde of gouernment; that they learne of Ieroboam, & feare the issue of him, whose acts they imitate: that they may hereafter the better beware by other mens harmes. For, in reuenge of his impietie, God raysted vp against Nadab his sonne, the King Baasha, who slew him and all his race. *Non dimisit ne vnā quidem animā de semine eius, donec deleret eam.* But let vs

returne where we left.

Of what strength and power, to make a place populous, Religion proues to be, and to haue the opinion of some famous relique, or notable argument and token of Gods diuine assistance, or some authoritie in the administration and gouernment of ecclesiasticall causes : *Loretto in Italie, Saint Michael in France; Guadalup, Monferrato & Compostella in Spayne*, doe all of thm declare and manifest it plaine; and many places moe besides, though solitary and desert, though sharpe and rocky: vnto the which, for no respect but for deuotion sake and pietie, people daily do resort infinitelie in flocks frō the farthest parts that are.

And no maruaile, if you looke into it thoroughly. For, there is not any thing in this world of more efficacy and force to allure and draw to it the harts of men, then God, which is the *Summum bonum*. He is carefully desired and sought for continually of all creatures whatsoeuer, with soule or without. For, all regard him as their last end : Light things, seeke their *Summum bonum* aboue; heavy things, beneath, within this centre of the earth; the heauens, in their *\*Orbicular* *period.* *Reuolutions*; the Hearbes, in their flowers; the Trees in their fruits: Beasts, in the preservation of their kinde; and man, in seeking his tranquillitie of minde and euerlasting ioye.

But, forasmuch as God is of so hyghe a nature, as the sense of man cannot attaine it: so shyning bryght, as the eye of mans vnderstanding cānot conceaue it: euery man directly turnes him to that place, where  
he



he leaues some print of his power, or declares some signe of his assistance; which ordinarily haue been and are seen in the mountaines, or the deserts.

*Rome.*

Is not then *Rome* indebted much for her magnificency and greatnes, to the blood of the Martyres? to the reliques of Saints? to the holy consecrated places? and to the supream authoritie in beneficiall and spirituall causes? Would she not become a very wilderness, if the opinion of the holines of the places, drew not the innumerable sight of people from the vtermost parts of the Earth? Would she not become a desert, if the Apostolicall seat, and the power of the keyes, caused not an inestimable multitude of people dayly to repaire vnto it, for some buisines or other?

*Mylan*, a most populous and famous Citie, shall euer be a witnes what praise and glorie, and how much encrease it hath gotten, by the singuler pietie and religious life of that great *Cardinall Borromeus*. Princes resorted, euen from the vtermost ends of the South, to visite him; Byshops made accesse from all parts, to consult with him for his opinion in any controuerxies that sprang amongst them; The Clergie likewise harkned vnto his counsells; And the religious people of all nations, held *Milan* for their country, and the house of that godly man for their Port, his liberality for their refuge, and his godly life, for a most faire and cleare glasse of ecclesiasticall discipline for al men to looke into, and to take example by.

I should happely be too long, if I should declare

vnto you with what singuler praise and comendation, he celebrated euery yeare his *Synodes*, and with what magnificency he visited euery yeare his Provinces, how many churches he eyther built new, or being old, set in good order; how many he adorned and bewtified: How many monasteries of men and women he erected; how many well ordered Colledges of young men, & Seminaries of priests he instituted; how many sorts of Academies he set vp and foinded, to the inestimable good of the people; How many kindes of entertainments and promotions he bestowed vpon arts, and on artificers; And, I should neuer end, if I should recount the manner and the meanes wherewith, by amplifying Gods seruice and aduācing of religion, he increased also the City, and doubled the concourse of people vnto *Milan*.

CAP. III.

Of Schooles and Studies.



He commodity of learned Schooles, is of no small moment to draw people, especially young men to a Citie, of whose greatnes we are in speech. For, inasmuch as there be two meanes for men of wit and courage to rise by to some degree of honor and reputation in the world, the one by armes, the other by booke: the first is sought for in the field, with the speare & the sword; and the last, in the Academy, with pen and booke.

And, forasmuch as men long for honor, or for pro-



fit: And of liberall arts and sciences, some bring certaine wealth to men, and some promotions and preferments to honorable functions: It is a thing of no small importance, that in a citie there be provided an Academy or such a schoole, as young men, desirous to attaine to vertue and learning, may thereby haue occasion to repaire, rather thither, than to any other place. And that wilbe effected soone, if besides the commodity of the schoole and good teachers, they may enioy conueniēt immunities & priuiledges: I say conuenient, for that I would not haue impunitie afforded vnto faults, nor licence given to fall to vice and wickednes, but honest libertie allowed to them, that they may the more commodiously and cheerefully attend their studies.

For, to say truth, studie is a matter of great labor and trauaile, both of the minde & body. And therevpon, our forefathers in times past, called the Goddesse of Artes & Sciences *Minerua*, bycause the toyle of speculation, weakeneth the strength, and cutts the synewes: For, an afflicted body afflicteth many times the minde, whereof groweth melancholy and sadnes. And therefore it standes with good reason, that all conuenient priuiledge and libertie be granted vnto schollers, that may maintaine the in contented & cherefull mindes: but no dissolutenes allowed in any wise vnto them, whereof the Academies in *Italie* are growen too full. For, the penne is there turned into a poynado; and the penner, into a flaske and tutch-box for a gunne: the disputations, in to bloody brawlings; the Scholes, into listes; and the

Schollers



Schollers, into cutters and to hacksters: Honesty is there flowted at and scorned: and bashfulness & modesty, accounted a discredit and a shame. So that a young man that were like ynough to lead the modest and sober life of a good student, shall haue much to do, if he scape to be yndone. But, let vs leaue complaints: And yet I must needes say thus much first, no Academy can flourish aright, without quarrels, cards and dice be banisht quite, & clean cast out.

Francis the first, king of France, bycause the schollers of the vniuersity of Paris (which in his time were almost an infinite sight) should haue commoditie and meanes to take the ayre, and to recreate themselves with honest exercises; he assigned them a great meadow neere the Cittie, and the Riuer; where without let or trouble to them, they might disport and solace themselves at their will and pleasure. There they fell to wrastring, there they plaid at the barriers, at the ball and the foote ball; there did they cast the sled, and leape and runne, with such cheerefullnes and pastime, as it delighted the beholders thereof, no lesse then themselves. And so ceaseth by this meanes, the clatter and the noyse of weapons and of Armor, and also playe at cardes and dice.

For the same reasons, it is necessarie that the Citie wherein you will found an Academy, be of an wholesome ayre, and of a pleasant and delightfull situation; where there may be both riuers, fountaines, springs, and woods. For, these things, of themselves without any other helpe, are apt to delight & chere vp the spirits and mindes of Students. Such were

in times past, *Athens* and *Rhodes*, where all good artes and learning flourished most aboue all other.

*Galeazzo Viscount* (besides these inuitings and allurements,) being earnestly desirous to illustrate and appopulate *Pauia*, was the first that forbad his subiects, vnder a great paine, to goe any where else to studie: which course, some Princes else of *Italie*, haue since his time followed.

But these are meanes full of distrust and trouble. The honorable and notable meanes to reteine subiects in their country, and to draw strangers also home to it, is to procure them meanes of honest recreation, to provide them plenty of victuall to maintaine to them their priuiledges, to giue them occasion to ryse to degrees of honor by their learned exercises, to make account of good witts, and to reward them well: but aboue all, to store them with plenty of doctors and learned men of great fame and reputation.

The great *Pompey* was not ashamed to enter into the Schooles. For, after he had conquered all the East, he went to the Schooles at *Rhodes* to heare the professors there dispute.

But, for a far greater reason, *Sigismond* king of *Pollonia* gaue a strait commaundement, that none of his subiects should wander abroad out of his kingdome to study any where else. (And the *Catholique* king commaunded the like not many yeares since.)

And it was to this end, that his subiects should not be infected with the *Hereties* that beganne in the time of king *Sigismond*, and are at the heighth in these

our

\* King of  
Spaine.

\* New  
Doctrines.  
Sectes.

our dayes throughout all the Prouinces of the North.

CAP. V. *Of the place of Iustice.*



**O**ur liues, our honor, and our substance, are all in the hands of the Iudge. For, loue and charitie sayling in all places; the violence & couetousnes of wicked men doth daily the more encreate: from whome, if the iudges doe not defend vs, our busines what soeuer we do, will ill go forward. For this cause, Cities that haue royall audience, Senators, Parliaments or other sorts and kindes of Courts of Iustice, must needes be much frequented; as well for concourse of people that haue cause of Suite vnto it, as also for the execution of iustice. For, it cannot be ministred without the helpe of many presidents, I meane, Senators, Aduocates, Proctors, Sollicitors, Notaries and such like. Nay more then that (which it greeues me to thinke on) Expedition of iustice cannot be had in these our daies, without ready money. For nothing in the world doth make men run so fast as currant money. For, the Adamāt is not of such force to draw Iron vnto it, as gold is to turne the eyes & the mindes of men, this way, & that way and which way they list. And the reason is plaine, bycause gold, euen thorough the very vertue thereof, containeth in it all greatnes, all cōmodities, and all earthly good



whatsoever: To be short, he that hath money, hath, you may say, all worldly things that are to be had.

In these dayes, through the plenty of money, which the administration of iustice doth carry with it, the Metropolitan Cities, if they may not haue the whole administration of ciuile and criminall causes: they will yet reserue at least vnto them, the chiefeft causes, and all appeales. Which is well done for matter of State (whereof the iudiciall authority is a principall member; by the meanes whereof, they are the patrones and protectors of the life and goods of the Subiect:) But there must be a regard to the proffit that we haue poynted at.

This goes currant in all places, especially where in iudiciall causes they do proceed, according to the common vse and cours of the lawes of the Romans: For, that course and forme is longer, and requireth more Ministers than the other.

In *England* and *Scotland*, but especially in *Turky*, where a short course is taken in tryall of causes, euen as it were, at the first sitting of the Iudge: It profiteth little, to encrease the greatnes of a Citie, to hold pleas there. Forasmuch as difficult and hard causes, are in an after none, as it were, decided there and ended, if sufficient witnes be produced at the hearing of the cause. These adiornaments and many Termes, are there cut off: And Instruments, Procelle, Officers and Mediators, haue there no place. Within a few blowes giuen, they come to the halfe Sword. So that the time, the expence, and the number of persons, are far lesse and much fewer, then  
the

the ciuile Lawes do require.

I speake not these things, to the end I would haue causes prolonged, and suites made eternall. For, they are to long already without more a doe: And in doing iustice; delay (which receiueth no excuse, by colour or pretence of warines and care to commit no error) is very plaine Iniustice. And therefore in our Citie we speake of here, it shalbe very necessary and expedient, to haue in it a principall seate of Iustice and course of suites and pleas depending in it.

CAP. VI.

*Of Industrie.*



Orasmuch as I haue already sufficiently sayd my minde concerning Industrie and Art, in mine 8. booke of the Reason of state, wherein I haue at large discoursed concerning the propagation of States: I will therefore for breuitie sake, refer the gentle reader vnto that same chapter.

*Bycause the Chapter aboue mentioned, is pertinent to the purpose and happely the reader hereof may longe as much to vnderstande it, as be desirous to read this booke: I haue thought good, aswell for the coherencie of the matter, as for the satisfaction of the reader, to insert it here in this place,*

*of*

Of Industrie.

CAP. III. LIB. VIII.



Here is not a thing of more importance to encrease a state, and to make it both populous of Inhabitants, and rich of all good things; than the industrie of men, and the multitude of Artes; of which, some are necessary; some commodious for a ciuile life; other some for a Pompe and ornament; and other some for delicacy, wantonnes, and entertainment of idle persons; by the meanes whereof doth follow, concourse both of mony, and of people, that labor and worke, or trade that is wrought, or minister and supply matter to Laborers and worke-men; or buy, or sell, or transport from one place to another, the artificious and cunning parts of the wit and hand of man.

Selim, the first, Emperor of the Turkes, to appopulate and ennoble Constantinople, procured some thousand of excellent Artificers to send vnto it, first from the kings Citie of Tauris, and after from the great Cayrus. The Polonians were also of that same minde. For, when they elected Henrie Duke of Angio for their King; amongst other things which they required of him, one was, that he should bring with him into Polonia, an hundred families of good Artificers.

Question.

And, forasmuch as Art doth contend and strue with nature, a man may here well aske me, which of these two

Resolution.

do most import to encrease a place with multitude of people; the fruitfulness of the Land, or the Industrie of man? The Industrie of man without all doubt. First, for that  
such



such things as are wrought by the cūning hand of man, are of much more, and of far greater price and estimation, then such things as nature doth produce. Forasmuch as nature giueth the matter and the subiect, but the Art and Cūning of man, giueth an vnspcakable variety of formes and fashions.

Wooll, is but a simple fruit and rude of nature: but, Wooll, what a sight of good things, and what variety and sundry formes and fashions, doth Art make therof? How many and how great commodities, doth the Industrie of the Clothier draw out of it, who doth get it carded, pickt, spunne, warpt, weaued, dyed, fulled, thickt, fashioned, and formed after a thousand wayes. And do not the transportation of it from place to place encrease a great proffit too?

Sylke, is also a simple fruit of nature: But, what variety of most gallant & beautifull cloathes doth Art frame thereof? It makes the very excrement of a base and baggage worme, hyghly esteemd with Princes, and greatly apprizde of Queenes to be short, it makes euery man to braue him and bedeck him in it.

A number of more people far, do liue vpon their Industrie and labor, then vpon their rents or reuenues. Whereof, many Cities in Italie can beare good witnes: but principally Venice, Florence, Genoua, and Mylan, of whose magnificency & greatnes I will not speake here: And yet with the Art and skill to dresse Sylke and Woll, two third parts in a manner, of the Inhabitants amongst them, do liue vpon it.

But, to passe out of the Cities vnto the prouinces: They that haue made an exact account of the strength of France, say, the fruits of that kingdome amount to 15. millions of

Crownes a yeare. And they themselves affirme, that France hath in it more then 15. millions of Soules. But, admit it haue no more then 15. By that reckoning, there should be one Crowne a peece for euerye Powle. All the rest then must needs proceed of Industrie. But who is so voyde of reason, that hee sees not this in all things?

The reuenew gotten out of the Iron Mynes, is not the greatest. But of the proffit that is drawe out of the worke, and vpon the trade and traffique thereof, a number of people liue and are maintained; such I meane, as digge it out of the Myne, scowre it, melt it, forge it, cast it, sell it by whole sale, or by retayle; Such as make engynes thereof for Warre; Armor for defence and offence; And an innumerable kynde of Iron workes and tooles besides, for husbandrye, for building, and for all manner of Artes, for daily vse and busines, and for Innumerable necessities of life, that haue no lesse neede of Iron, then of bread: In somuch as he that should compare the reuenews the owners reape of their Iron Mynes, with the proffit the Artificers draw out of the workmanship thereof, and the merchants with their Industrie (and hereof the Princes are mightely enriched also, by the custome that growes vpon it) shall finde, that Industrie and Art exceedeth Nature far.

Compare Marble with the Images, with the Colosses, with the Pillers, the caruing, and the infinite and curious workmanship, the Artificers doe set vpon it: Compare Tymber with the Gallies, Galliownes, Ships, and other vessels of infinit sorts and kindes, both for warre, burden, and for pleasure: together with the carued Images, furnitures of house and other things without count, that are built and made thereof, with the plane, the chisell, the  
caruing

caruing tooles, and turners wheele: Compare colors with the Pictures, & the price of the, with the worth of the colors: And you shall soone perceave how much more the workmanship is worth than the matter: And what a number of people are maintained more upon the meanes of Art, the upon the immediat benefit of Nature. Zeuxes the excellent paynter, gaue his best workes away for nought, bycause he valued them aboue any pryce that could be set upon them.

At a word, such a wealth there is in Art and Industry, that neither the mynes of Siluer, nor the mynes of gold in Noua Hispania nor in Peru, can be compared with it. And the custome of the merchandize of Milan, bringes more mony to the king of Spaines cofers, than the Mines of Zagateca and of Salisco.

Italy is a prouince, in which (as I haue before declared) there is not a myne to speake of, neither of gold nor siluer: No more there is in France. And yet both the one and the other, through the helpe and meanes of Art and Industrie, abound exceedingly in mony, wealth and Treasure.

Flaunders also hath no vaines of Mettall; And yet, before the troubles there, while it stood in peace and quietnes; for, and in respect of the number and the sundry and the admirable workes there wrought with inestimable Art and Cunninge; It gaue not a iot of ground to the mynes of Hungary, nor yet of Transilvania. There was not a Country throughout all Europe, neither more rich, nor more inhabited then it: nor not one part of Europe, nor of the world, that had so many good Cities, so great and so well frequented of forreiners and strangers. So that, not without good cause, by reason of the incompara-



ble treasure the Emperor Charles drew out of it, some called those countreyes, the Emperors Indies.

Nature bringeth forth her formes in *Materia prima*. And mans Art and cunning, worketh upon the naturall compound, a thousand kindes of artificiall formes. For, nature is to the workeman, the same, that *Materia prima* is to the naturall agent. A Prince therefore that will make his City populous, must draw to it all sorts & kindes of Art & cunning. Which he shall bring to passe, if he bring out of other countreyes excellent artificers, & giue the entertainment & conuenient seate to dwell upon: if he reckon of good witts, and esteeme of singuler and rare inuentions and workmanship: if otherwhile also he doe reward perfection and excellency in things of Art and cunning.

But aboue all things, it is very necessarie the Prince suffer not rude & unwrought things to be caried out of his dominion, *Viz*: neither Wooll, nor Silke, nor Timber, nor Mettall, nor any other such like thing. For, with such matter, the artificers will also goe away. And, upon the trade of unwrought stufte or matter, liue a greater number, than upon the simple matter it selfe alone. And the Princes reuenew comes to be much greater, by the extraction of the worker, than by the stufte or matter: As for example by the Veluets, then by the Silkes; by the Rash, then by the Woolles; by the Linnen, then by the Flaxe; by the Cordage, than by the Hempe.

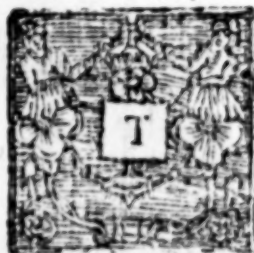
The Kings of England, and of France, aware of these things, not many yeares since made a law against the carying out of Woolles out of their dominions. And the King of Spaine did afterward the like. But these lawes could not be obserued so strictly by and by. For, these  
provin-

provinces abounding with an infinite deale of fine Wooll, they had not so many workemen, as could ouercome it all. And although the Princes aforesaid happely made this law for their owne particuler good, bycause the profit and the custome that ryseth of the clothes, is far greater then that, which riseth of the wooll alone: yet notwithstanding, this lawe was good for the benefit of the whole countries inas- much as a nūber of people more, doe liue vpon the wrought cloathes, then vpon the rude and unwrought Wooll, out of which, growes the riches and the greatnes of the King. For, the multitude of people, is it, that makes the Earth fruitfull, and it, that with the hand and with Art, giueth a thousand formes to the naturall stufte or matter.

And thus far the 3. chapter of the 8. booke  
of Boterus, of the reason of State,

CAP. VII.

Of Priuiledges.



He people are in these our daies so greuously opprest and taxed by their Princes, who are driuent to it, partly of couetousnes and partly of necessitie that they greedely imbrace the least hope that may be of priuiledge and freedōe whensoever it is offered. Whereof the Martes, Faiers and Markets beare good witnesse, which are frequented with a mighty concourse of trades men, marchants and people of all sorts, not for any respect else, but that they are there free and franke from

customs and exactions.

In our daies, the Princely Citie of *Naples*, through the exemptions and freedoms granted to the Inhabitants, is most notably encreased, both in buildings and in people : And it would haue encreased a great deale more, if through the greefes and suits of the Barons there, whose lāds were vnfurnished of people, or for some other peculiar reason; the King of *Spaine* had not seuerely forbidden to enlarge it with further buildings.

The Cities in *Flaunders*, are the most merchantable and the most frequented Cities for commerce and traffique, that are in all *Europe*. Yf you require the cause : surely, the exemptions from custome is the cheefest cause of it. For, the merchandize that is brought in, and carried out (and it is infinit that is brought in, and carryed out) payd but a very small custome.

All such as haue erected new Cities in times past; to draw concourse of people to it; haue graunted of necessitie, large Immunities and priuiledges, at least, to the first Inhabitants thereof. The like haue they done, that haue restored Cities emptied with the plague, consumed with the warres, or afflicted otherwise with some other scourge of God.

The plague mencioned by *Boccas*, that languished all *Italie* neere 3. yeares together, was so fierce; that from March to Iuly, it tooke out of the world about an hundred thousand soules within *Florence*. It slew also such a number within *Venice*, as in a maner it became a desert. So that the Senat, to haue it  
reinha-



reinhabited, caused proclamation to be made, that all such as would comethither with their families, and dwell there two yeares together, should haue the freedome of the Citie. The same cōmon weale of *Venice*, hath been also more than once deliuered out of extreame necessitie of victualls, by promising priuiledge and freedome to such as brought them corne.

CAP. VIII.

Of hauing in her possession some merchandize of moment.



It will also greatly helpe to drawe people to our Citie, if thee haue some good store of vendible merchandize alwaies in her possession: Which happely may be, where, through the goodnes of the soyle, either all of it doth grow, or a great part, or that at least, which is more excellent than other: All, as the *Cloues* in the *Moluccaes*: the *Frankinsence* and sweet *Incense*. smelling goomes in *Sabea*: the *Balsam* in *Palestin*: Or *Balsame*. where a good part of it doth grow, as *Pepper* doth in *Pepper*. *Calicut*, and *Sinamom* in *Zeilan*: or where it is most *Sinamom*. excellent, as *Salt* is in *Ciprus*: *Sugers* at *Madera*; and *Salt*. *Wooll* in some Cities of *Spaine* and *England*. There *Suger*. *Wooll*. is also to be added vnto this, the excellencie of Art and workemanship; which, through the qualitie of the water, or the skill & cunning of the Inhabitants, or some hidden misterie of theirs, or other such like cause;

Armor.  
Tapestry.  
Veluet.  
Cloth of  
gold and sil-  
uer.  
China.

cause; chaunceth to be in one place more excellent then another: As the Armor in *Damascus* and in *Seyras*; Tapestry in *Arras*; Rash in *Florence*; Veluets in *Genoa*; Cloth of Gold and Siluer in *Milan*; and Scarlet in *Venice*.

And to this purpose I cannot passe it ouer, but I must declare vnto you, that in *China*, all Artes in a maner, florish in the highest decree of excellency that may be, for many reasons, but amongst the rest, chiefly for this, bycause the children are bound to follow their fathers mistery and trade. So that, forasmuch as they are borne, as it were, with a resolute minde to follow their fathers Art, & the fathers hide not from them any thing, but teach them & instruct them with all affection, assiduity, diligence and care: workmanship is by this meanes there growen to that fulnes of excellency and perfectiō that may be possibly desired. As it may be seene in these fewe workes that are brought out of *China*, to the *Philipinas*, from the *Philipinas*, to *Mexico*, & from *Mexico*, to *Siuile*. But let vs returne to our purpose.

There are also some other Cities, maisters of some commodities; not bycause the goods do growe in their coutrie, or be wrought by their inhabitāts; but bycause they haue the cōmaund either of the countrie, or of the Sea that is neere them: the commaund of the Countrie, as *Siuil*, vnto which infinit wealth and riches are brought from *Noua Hispania* & *Peru*: the commaund of the Sea, as *Lisborne*, which by this meanes draweth to it the Pepper of *Cocin*, and the *Sinamom* of *Zeilan*, and other riches of the Indies, whic

which cannot be brought by Sea, but by them, or vnder their leaue and lycence.

After the same sort in a manner, *Venice*, about a fower score and tenne yeares agoe, was Lady of the Spyceries. For, before the Portugalls possessed the Indies, these things being brought by the Red Sea to *Suez*, and from thence vpon Camells backes to *Cayrus*, and after that by *Nilus*, into *Alexandria*; there were they bought vp by the Venetians, who sent thither their great Argosyes, and with incredible proffit to them, caryed them in a manner, into all the partes of *Europe*.

But all this commerce and trade, is now quite turnde to *Lisborne*; vnto which place, by a new way, the Spiceries, (taken as it were, out of the hands of the Moores and the Turkes) be yearly brought by the Portugalls, & then sold to the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and to all the Northerne partes. This commerce and trade is of such Importance, as it alone is inough to enrich all Portugall, & to make it plentifull of all things.

There are some other Cities also, Lords as it were, of much merchandize and Traffique, by meanes of their commodious Scituation to many Nations, to whome they serue of warehoule Roome and floare houses; such are *Malacca* and *Ormuz* in the East; *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, *Messina*, and *Genoa* in the *Mediterranean Sea*, *Andwerpe*, *Amsterdam*, *Danske*, and the *Narue* in the Northerne Seas; and *Franckford* and *Norimberg* in *Germany*. In which Cities, many and great merchants exercise their tra-



ffique and make their ware houses; vnto the which the nations thereunto adioyning vse to resort to make their prouisions of such things as they neede, bycause they haue commodious meanes for transportation of it. And this consisteth in the largenes and the safenes of the Ports; in the opportunitie and fytnesse of the Gulphes and Creekes of the Seas; in the nauigable Riuiers that come into the Cities, or runne by or neere them; in the Lakes and the Channels: As also where the wayes be playne and safe.

*King of  
Cusco.*

And heere to the purpose, bycause I speake of wayes, I cannot passe ouer those two wayes, which the Kings of *Cusco* (called in their language, *Inche*,) in longe processe of time cut out throughout their dominion, about 2000. miles in length, so pleasant, so commodious, so plaine, and so leuell; as they giue no place to the magnificent workes of the Romans. For, there shall you see steepe and high hylles, layd euen with the plaine; and deepe valleyes filled vp; and horrible huge stones cut in peeces: There shall you see the trees, that are planted heere and there, in excellent good order euen by a lyne, yeald both with their shade, a comfort; and with the charme of the birds, that there abound in great plenty, a maruailous delight and pleasure to the trauailers that passe those waies. Neither are there wanting on those waies, many good Innes for lodging & for entertainment, plentifull of all necessary things; Nor Pallaces and goodly buildings, that in eminent and open places, as it were to meete you, present you with a pleasant and bewtifull shew of their excellen-  
cye

eye and rarenes; nor pleasant Townes, nor sweete countries, nor a thousand other delights and pleasures to feede both the eye with varietie, and the minde with admiration at the infinit effects, partly wrought by nature, and partly by the handy worke of man. But, to returne to our purpose.

It is a good matter and a great helpe to a Prince, to know the naturall Scite of his countrie, and with iudgment to haue an vnderstanding how to amend it by art and industrie. As for example, to defend his Ports with Rampiers and with Bulwarkes; to make the Ladyng and vnladyng of Merchandize both quick and easie; to scoure the Seas of *Pirates* and of *Rouers*; to make the Riuers nauigable; to build storehouses apt and large ynough to conteine great quantitie of wares; and to defend and maintaine the wayes, aswell on the plaines, as on the mountaynes and hilly places.

In this poynt, the Kings of *China* haue deserued all prayse that may be. For, they haue with an incredible expence and charge, paved with stone all the highe waies of that most famous Kingdome; and haue made stone bridges ouer mighty great Riuers; And cut in sunder hilles and mountaines of inestimable heigth and craggednes; They haue also strewed the plaines and bottomes with very fayer stone: So that a man may there passe either on horse or a foote, aswell in the Winter as in the Sommer time, and merchandize may be easily carryed too and fro there, by loade, eyther on Cartes, or on Horse, Mules or Camels.

And in this point no doubt, some Princes in *Italy* are much to blame; in whose countries in the winter time, horses are bemired in sloughes vp to the bellie, and carts are stabled and set fast in the tough durte and myre. So that cariadges by cart or horse, are thereby very combersome: And a iorney that might be well dispatched in a day, can hardlie be performed in three or fower. And the wayes are as bad in many parts of France, as in the country of Poytiers, Santongia, Beaussia, and in *Burgondy*. But this is no place to censure so famous Prouinces. And therefore let vs proceed.

## CAP. IX.

*Of Dominion and power.*

He greatest meanes to make a Citie populous and great; is to haue a supreme Authority & power: For, that draweth dependency with it, And dependency, concurrence, & cōcourse greatnes: In the Cities that haue iurisdiction & power ouer others; as well the publique wealth, as the wealth of priuat men, is drawen by diuers Artes & meanes vnto them. Thither doe repaire the Embassadors of Princes, & the agents of Dukes and cōmon weales, there are the greatest causes heard, as well criminall as ciuile, and all appeales are brought to tryall there. There are the suits and causes, as well of men of qualitie, as of the common weale and common persons debated, and decided. There-  
uenues



uenues of the State are there laid vp, and there spent out againe when there is need. The richest Citizens of other countries, seeke to ally themselves, and to get an habitation there.

Out of all which causes here recited, there must needs follow an abundance of wealth and riches; a most strong and forcible bayte to allure and drawe forth the marchants, the artificers, and the people of all sorts that liue vpon their labor and their seruice, to run amaine from the furthest coastes, vnto it. After this sort, a Citie soone encreaseth both in magnificency of building, in multitude of people, and abundance of wealth, and also groweth to the proportion of a principallity.

The truth whereof, these Cities all of them declare it plaine, that eyther haue had or haue any notable iurisdiction in them, *Pisa, Siena, Genoa, Luke, Florence, and Bressia* : Whose countries do extend an hundred miles in length, and fortie in breadth, and not onely containe the most fruitfull and fertile playnes, but also many rich and goodly valleis, many townes and castles, that haue aboue a thousand houses in them, and do feede very neere three hundred and fortie thousand persons : Many free and imperiall Cities in *Germany* are like to these; *Norimberg, Inbeck, and Augusta*. And such was *Gant* in *Flanders*, that, when the Standard was aduansed and spread, sent out at once an hundred thousand men of warre.

I speake not here of *Sparta, Carthage, Athens, Rome*, nor *Venice*; whose greatnes grew as fast as their power : euen so far; that, to passe the rest, *Carthage*, in

*Carthage*  
24 miles a-  
bout.

*Rome* 50.  
miles about  
besides the  
Suburbs.

the height of her pride and glorie, was 24 myles about; and Rome was 50 belides the Suburbs, which were in a manner so infinit and great, as, on the one side, they extended euen to *Hostia*, and on the other side in a manner to *Ostricolis*; and round about they occupied and possessed a mighty deale of the coun-trye. But, let vs proceede. For, to this chapter, belongeth all that shalbe sayd hereafter, of the residence of Princes.

## CAP. X.

*Of the Residency of the Nobilitie.*



Mongest other causes why the Cities of *Italy* are ordinarily greater then the Cities of *France*, or other parts of *Europe*; it is not of small importance this, that the gentlemen in *Italy* doe dwell in Cities; and in *France*, in their castles, which are for the most part Pallaices, compassed and surrounded with moates full of water, and fenced with walles and towers sufficient to susteine a suddaine assault.

And although the noble men of *Italy*, doe also themselves magnificently dwell in the villages, as you may see, about the countries of *Florence*, *Venice*, and *Genoa*, which are full of buildings, both for the worthynes of the matter, and the excellencie of the workmanship, fit to bee an ornament and an honour rather to a Kingedome, than to a Cittie: yet not with standing, these buildings generally, are more sumptuous and more common in *France*, then they

they are in *Italy*. For, the *Italian* deuidenth his expence and indeuours, part in the Citie, part in the country, but the greater part he bestowes in the Citie. But, the *Frenchman* imployes all that he may, wholly in the country, regarding the Citie little or nothing at all. For, an Inne serues his turne whē he needs. Howbeit, experiēce teacheth the residence of noblemen in Cities, makes them to be more glorious & more populous; not onely bycause they bring their people & their families vnto it, but also more, bycause a noble man dispendeth much more largely, through the accesse of friends vnto him, and through the emulation of others in a Citie where he is abiding, and visited continually by honorable personages, then he spendeth in the country, where he liueth amongst the brute beasts of the field, and conuerseth with plaine country people, and goes apparelled amongst them in plaine and simple garments. Gorgeous and gallant buildings necessarily must also follow, and sundry arts of all sorts and kynds must needs encrease to excellency and full perfection in Cities, where noblemen do make their residence.

For this cause, the Inga of *Peru*, that is, the king of *Peru*, meaning to enoble and make great his royal Citie of *Cusco*: would not only that his *Cacichi* and his Barrons should inhabite there; but he did also command that euery one of them should erect and build a Pallace therein, for their dwelling; which when they had performed, each struiuing with the other, who should erect the fairest; that Citie in short time grew with most princely buildings, to be magnificent

*Cusco, a princely Citie in Peru. Cacicha, viceroy, or Lieutenant.*



nificent and great. Some Dukes of *Lombardy*, haue in our daies attempted such a thing.

*Armenia.*  
*Tygranocerta,*

*Tygranes* King of *Armenia*, when he set vp the great *Tygranocerta*, enforst a great number of gentlemen and honorable persons, with others of great wealth and substance, to remooue themselves thither withall their goods whatsoever, sending forth a solemne proclamation withall, that what goods so euer were not brought thither, and could be found of theirs elsewhere, should be confiscat cleane.

*Venice.*

And this is the cause, that *Venice* in short time, increased so notably in her beginning. For, they that fled out of the countries there adioyning, into the *Ilāds*, where *Venice* is miraculously seated, as it were; were noble personages and rich, and thither did they carrie with them, all their wealth and substance; with the which, geuing themselves, thorough the opportunitie of that Gulfe, to nauigation and to trafique; they became within a while, owners and masters of the Citie, and of the Ilands thereunto adioyning; and with their wealth and riches, they easily enobled the countrie with magnificent and gorgeous buildings, and with inestimable Treasure; And, in the end, brought it to that greatnes and power, in which we doe both see it, and admire it at this present.

CAP. XI.

Of the Residence of the Prince.



Or the very selfe same causes we haue a little before declared, in the chapter of dominion and power; it doth infinitely auaille, to the magnifying and making Cities great and populous, the Residence of the Prince therein; according to the greatnes of whose Empire, she doth increase. For, where the Prince is resident, there also the Parliaments are held; and the supreme place of iustice is there kept; all matters of importance haue recourse to that place; all Princes and all persons of account, Embassadors of Princes and of common weales, and all Agents of Cities that are subiect, make their repaire thither; all such as aspire and thirst after offices and honors run thither amaine with emulation and disdain at others; thither are the reuenues brought that appertain vnto the state; & there are they disposed out againe. By all which meanes, Cities must needs encrease apace it may easiely be conceiued by the examples in a maner, of all the Cities of Importance and of name.

The ancientest kyngdome, was that of *Egypt*, whose Princes kept their Court partly in *Thebes*, and partly in *Memphis*. By meanes whereof those two Cities grewe to a mightie greatnes, and to beautifull and sumptuous buildings; Forasmuch as *Thebes* (which *Homer* calles poetically the Citie of a hundred gates) was in circuit (as *Diodorus* writeth) 17. miles about,

*Egypt the  
ancientest  
Kingdome.  
Thebes.  
Memphis.*

*Thebes 17.  
miles about.*

K

and

and was beautified with prowd & stately buildings, both publique and priuate, and also full of people. And *Memphis* was but little lesse.

*Alexan-  
dria.*

In after ages, other kings succeeding (which were called *Ptolamies*) they kept their court in *Alexandria*, which did by that meanes mightilie increase in buildings, in people, in reuerent reputation taken of it, and in inestimable wealth and riches; and the other two Cities aforesaid, that by the ruine of that kingdome, falling first vnder the *Caldarians*, and afterward vnder the *Persians*, were exceedingly decaied, are now vterly defaced.

*Cayrus.*

The Soldanes after that forsaking *Alexandria*, drew themselves to *Cayrus*, which, euen for this very cause became (within a little time to speake of) a Citie so populous, as it hath gotten, not without good cause, the name of the great *Cayrus*. But the Soldanes, bycause they thought themselves not to be secure, in respect of the innumerable multitude, if so great a people should perchance rise vp in armes against them; deuided it with large and many ditches filled full of water, so that it might appeare not to be one Citie alone, but many little townes vnited and

*Drandi-  
ns.*

, ioyned together. At this daie it is deuided into  
, townes, a little mile distant one from another, whose  
, names are these: *Bulacco*, old *Cayrus*, and new *Cay-  
rus*. It is said there are 16. thousand, or (as *Aristo*  
writeth) 18. thousand great streets in it, that are eve-  
rie night shut vp with iron gates. It may be 8. miles  
about, within which compasse, for that these people  
dwell not so at large, nor so commodiously for ease

*The great-  
nes of Cay-  
rus.*



as we do, but for the most part within the ground, flowed vp as it were, and crowded and thrust together; there is such an infinit multitude of them, as they cannot be numbred.

The plague in a manner, neuer leaueth them; but euerie leaueth yeare they feele it most exceedingly. And, if it dispatch not out of the way aboue 3. hundred thousand, they count it but a flea-byt. In the time of the Soldanes, that Citie was accounted to stand to health, when as there died not in it aboue a thousand persons in a daye. And let this suffice that I haue said of *Cayrus*, which is of so great a fame in the world at this day.

In *Assiria*, the Kings made their residence in *Ninive*; whose circuit was 480. furlongs about, which comes to three score miles: And in length it was, (as *Diodorus* writeth) one hundred and fifty furlongs. The Suburbes thereof no doubt, must needs, besides that, be very large. For the Scripture affirmeth that *Ninive* was great; three dayes iorney to passe it ouer. *Diodorus* writeth, there was neuer any Citie after that, set vp of so great a circuit and of so huge a greatnes. For, the heighth of the walles, was a hundred foote; the breadth able to containe 3. cartes a brest together; Towers in the walles a thousand and five hundred, in heighth an hundred foot, as *Vines* saith.

*Ninive*  
60. miles  
about.

*Drandi-*  
*us.*

The residence of the Kings of *Caldeia*, was in *Babilon*. This Citie was in compas foure hundred and 480. furlongs; so writes *Herodotus*: her walls were wide fifty cubits; high two hundred & more.

*Babilon* was  
480. fur-  
longs in cir-  
cuit.

*Aristotle* maketh it much greater. For, he writes that it was laid in his time, that when Babilon was taken, it was three daies eare one part tooke knowledge of the conquest. The people thereof were such a number, as they durst offer battell vnto *Cyrus*, the greatest and the mightiest King for power that euer was of *Persia*. *Semiramis* did build it; but *Nabucodonoser* did mightely encrease it. When it was ruinated afterward at the comming in of the *Scythians* and other people in those countries, it was reedified by one *Bugiafar* Emperor of the *Saracines*, who spent vpon it, 18. Millions of Gold. *Gionius* writeth that euen at this day it is greater then Rome, if you respect the compas of the ancient walles. But there are not only woodes to hunt in, and fieldes for tilladge, but also orchardes and large gardens in it.

*Califfe.*

*Media.*  
*Ecbatana.*  
*Persepolis.*

*Tauris in*  
*Persia* 16.  
miles in  
compas.

*Tartaria.*

The Kings of *Media*, made their residence in *Ecbatana*: the Kings of *Persia* in *Persepolis*; of whose greatnes there is no other Argument then coniecture. In our time, the Kings of *Persia* haue made their residence in *Tauris*. And, as their Empire is not so great as it hath been, so also neither is their Citie of the greatest. It is in compasse for all that, about sixteene miles; yea some say more. It is also very long, and hath many gardens in it; but it is without any walle, a thing common, in a manner, to all the Cities in *Persia*.

In *Tartaria*, and in the *Orientall Asia*, thorough the power of those great Princes, are far greater Cities, then in any parts else in the world. The *Tartars* haue at this day two great Emphyres, whereof the one is of the *Mogoria Tartars*, the other of the *Cataians*.

Cataians. The Mogorian Tartars, haue in our time  
 incredibly enlarged their dominion. For *Mahamud*  
 their prince, not contēted with his ancient confines;  
 subdued not many yeares since, in a manner all that e-  
 uer lieth between *Ganges* & *Indus*. The chiefe Citie  
 of *Mogora*, is *Sarmarcada*, which was incredibly en-  
 riched by the great *Tamberlane*, with the spoyles of  
 all *Asia*; where, like an horrible tempest, or deadly  
 raging flood, he threw down to the ground the most  
 ancient & worthyest Cities, and carried from thence  
 their wealth & riches; And, to speake of none other,  
 he onely tooke from *Damascus* eight thousand Camells  
 laden with rich spoyles, & choicest moueable goods.  
 This City hath been of such greatnes & power, that  
 in some ancient reports wee read, it made out fortie  
 thousand Horſe; But, at this day, it is not of such mag-  
 nificency & greatnes, through the dominion of the  
 Empire. For, as after the death of the great *Tamber-*  
*lane*, it was sodainly deuided into many parts, by his  
 ſōnes: So is it likewise in our time deuided amongst  
 the ſonnes of *Mahamud*, who hath laſt of all subdued  
*Cambaia*.

*Mogora.*  
*Cataia.*

*Sarmarcanda*  
enriched  
by *Tamber-*  
*lane*.

8000. *Ca-*  
*mells* laden  
with ſpoyle.  
60. *M.*  
*Draudius.*

And, forasmuch as I haue made mention of *Cam-*  
*baia*, I muſt tell you there are in that kingdome, two  
 memorable Cities: the one is *Cambaia*, the other is  
 called *Citor*. *Cambaia*, is of ſuch greatnes, that it hath  
 gotten the name of a prouince. Some write that  
 it doth conteine one hundred and ſiftie thousand  
 houſes; to the which allow as commonly the maner  
 is, to euery houſe five perſons, and it will then come  
 to little leſſe then eight hundred thousand inhabi-  
 tants. But, ſome make it to be much leſſe. How-

The King-  
dome of  
*Cambaia*  
*Citor*.



beit, in any sort howsoever, it is a most famous Citie, the chiefest of a most rich kingdome, and the Seate of a most mighty King, that brought to the enterprise against *Mahamud* King of the *Mogorians*, five hundred thousand footemen; and a hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, whereof thirty thousand were armed after the manner of our men of armes.

*Citor, a Citie 12. miles about,*

*Citor* is 12. miles about, and is a Citie so magnificent of buildings, so beautifull for goodly streetes, and so full of delights and pleasures, that few other Cities do come neere it; and it is for that cause called by the people that inhabit there, the shadow of the heauens. It hath been in our time, the Citie of residency of the Queene *Crementina*, who by cause she rebelled from the said King of *Cambaia*, was with maine force deprived thereof in the yeare 1536.

*The great Cham.*

The Emperour of the *Cataian Tartars* (commonly called the great *Chame*) deriueth himselfe from the great *Chiny*, who was the first, that 300. yeares agoe, came out of *Scythia Asiatice* with a valiant expedition and power of armes, and made the name of the *Tartars* famous. For, he subdued *China*, and made a great part of *India* tributary vnto him; he wasted *Persia*, and made *Asia* to tremble. The successors of this great Prince, made their residence in the Citie of *Chiambalu*, a Citie, no lesse magnificent, then great. For, it is said, it is in compasse twentie eight miles, besides the suburbes; and, that it is of such traffyque and commerce, as besides other sorts of Marchandize, there are euery yeare brought in to it, very neere a thousand Carts all loaden with Silke, that

*Chiambalu 28. miles in compasse, besides the suburbes.*

## The second Booke.

71

that come from *China*. Wherevpon a man may gesse, both the greatnes of the trades, the wealth of the Marchandize, the variety of the Artificers & Artes, the multitude of people, the Pompe, the magnificency, the pleasure, and the brauery of the inhabitants thereof.

But let vs now come to *China*. There is not in all the world a Kingdome, (I speake of vnited and entyer Kingdomes) that is either greater, or more populous, or more riche, or more abounding in all good things, or, that hath more ages lasted and endured, than that famous and renowned Kingdome of *China*. Hereof it growes, that the Cities wherein their Kings haue made their residence, haue euer been the greatest that haue been in the world. And those are *Suntien*, *Anchin* and *Panchin*.

*The kingdome of China.*

*Three great Cities in China.*

*Suntien* (by so much as I can learne out of the vndoubted testimonies of other men) is the most ancient, and the chiefeft and the Principallest of a certaine Prouince, which is called *Quinsai*, by which name they cōmonly call the same City. It is Seated as it were in the extreamest parts almost of the East, in a mighty great Lake, that is drawen out of the foure Princely Riues, that fall there into it, whereof the greatest is called *Polisanga*. The Lake is full of little I-lands which, for the gallānes of the Scite, the freshnes of the ayer, & sweetnesse of the gardens; are very delightfull without measure. His bankes are tapetred with verdure, mantled trees, watered with cleare running brookes, and many springes, and adorned with magnificent and stately Palaces. This Lake,

*Polisanga.*

*Suntien  
a Citie in  
Circuit  
100. miles  
about.*

Lake, in his greatest breadth is foure leagues wyde at the mouth, but in some places not about twoo. The Citie is from the mouth of the riuer, twentie eight miles or there about. In circuit it is an hundred miles about, with large passages both by water and by land; The streetes thereof, are all of them, paved gallantly with Stone, and beautified with very fayer benches or seates to sit vpon. The chanells of most account are happely fifteene, with bridges ouer them, so stately to behold, that Shippes vnder all their sailes passe vnder them. The greatest of these Chanells, cutteth thorough the middest, as it were, of the Citie, and is a mile wide, a little more or lesse, with foure score bridges vpon it: A Sight, no question that doth exceed all other.

I should be to long, if I should here declare all that might be said of the greatnes of the walkes and galleries, of the magnificent and Statelie buildings, of the beautie of the Streets, of the innumerable multitude of Inhabitants, of the infinite concourse of Marchandize, of the inestimable number of Shippes and vessells, some in laid with Ebony, and some with Iuory and chekered some with Gold, and some with Siluer, of the incomparable riches that come in thither, and are carryed out continually: to be short, of the delightes and pleasures whereof this Citie doth so exceedingly abound, as it deserues to be called proud *Suntien*, and yet the other two Cities, *Panchin* and *Anchin*, are neuer a whit lesse then this is.

But, forasmuch as we haue made mention of *China*, I thinke it not a misse in this place to remember



ber the greatnes of some other of her Cities, according to the relations we receaue in these dayes. *Canton* then (which is the most knowen, though not the greatest) the Portugalles that haue had much commerce thither these many yeares, confesse it is greater then *Lisborne*, which yet is the greatest Citie that is in *Europe*, except *Constantinople* and *Paris*. *Sanchio*, is said to be three times greater then *Siule*. So that sith *Siule* is six miles in compasse; *Sanchio* must needs be eightene miles about. They also say, *Vechio* exceeds them both in greatnes. *Chinchio*, although it be of the meaner sort, the fathers of the order of *Saint Augustine*, who saw it, do iudge that Citie to containe three-score and ten thousand houses.

These things I here deliuer, ought to be not thought by any man to be incredible. For, (beside that, that *Marcus Polus* in his relations affirmeth far greater things) these things I speake, are in these dayes approued to be most true by the intelligences we do receaue continually both of seculer and religious persons, as also by all the nation of the Portugalles. So as he that will denie it, shall shew himselfe a foole. But for the satisfaction of the reader, I will not spare to search out the very reasons, how it comes to passe that *China* is so populous and full of such admirable Cities.

Let vs then suppose, that, either by the goodnes of the Heauens, or by the secret Influence of the starres to vs vnknowne, or for some other reasons else what soeuer they be, that part of the world that

L

is

*The Indian  
Nut is cal-  
led Cacus &  
is full of  
milke, and  
sayd to be  
restorative.*

is orientall vnto vs, hath more vertue, I knowe not what, in the producing of things, than the west. Hereof it proceedeth, that a number of excellent things, grow in these happy countries, of which others are vtterly destitute and voyde: As *Sinamome*, *Nutmegges*, *Cloues*, *Pepper*, *Camphyre*, *Saunders*, *Incense*, *Aloes*, the Indian *Nuts*, and such other like. Moreover, the things that are common vnto both, to the East, I say, and the West; they are generally much more perfect in the East, than the West; as for prooffe thereof, the Pearles of the West, in comparison of the East, are as it were, lead to siluer. And likewise the *Bezaar* that is brought from the *Indies*, is a great deale better far, than the *Bezaar* that comes from *Peru*.

Now, *Chyna* comes the neereft to the East of any part of the world. And therefore doth she enioye all those perfections that are attributed to the East. And first, the Ayer (which, of all things importeth the life of man so much as nothing more) is very temperat; whereunto the neerenes of the Sea, addeth a great helpe, which imbraceth as it were, with armes cast abroad, a great part thereof, and lookes it in the face with a cheerefull aspect, and with a thousand creekes and gulfes penetrateth far, within the very Prouince.

Next that: The countrie is for the most part plaine, and of nature very apt to produce not onely things necessarie for the vse and sustenance of the life of man; but also all sorts of daintie things for mans delight and pleasure. The Hilles and Mountaines are

are perpetually arrayed with trees of all sorts, some wilde, and some fruitfull : The plaines manured, tilled and sown with rise, barley, wheate, peaze and beanes : The Gardens, besides our common sortes of fruites, doe yeald most sweet Mellons, most delicat Plommes, most excellent Figges, Pomecitrons, and Orenge of diuers formes and excellent taste.

They haue also an herbe, out of which they presse a delicate iuyce, which serues them for drinke in stead of wyne. It also preserues their health, and frees them from all those euills, that the immoderate vse of wyne doth breed vnto vs.

They also abound in cattell, in sheepe, in fowle, in deere, in wooll, in rich Skinnes, Cotton, Linnen, and in infinit store of Sylke. There are Mines of Gold and Siluer, and of excellent iron. There are most pretious pearles. There is abundance of Sugar, Honny, Rewbarbe, Camphire, red Leade, Woad, Muske, and Aloes; and the Porcelan earth is knowen no where but there.

More then this : The Riuer and the waters of all sorts, runne gallantly through all those countries, with an vnspeakeable profit and commoditie for nauigation and for tillage. And, the waters are as plentiful of fish, as the land is of fruites. For, the Riuer and the Seas yeild thereof an infinite abundance.

Vnto this so great a fertilitie and yeild both of the land & water, there is ioyned an incredible culture of both these elements. And that proceedeth out



of two causes, whereof the one dependeth vpon the inestimable multitude of the inhabitants (for it is thought that *China* doth conteyne more then three-score Millions of Soules,) and the other consisteth in the extreame diligence and paines that is taken, aswell of priuat persons in the tillage of their grounds, and well husbanding their farmes; as also of Magistrates, that suffer not a man to leade an idle life at home. So that there is not a little scratt of ground that is not husbandly and very well manured.

Now, for their Mechanicall Artes, should I commit them heere to Silence? Whenas there is not a countrie in the world, where they do more flourish both for varietie and for excellencie of skill and workmanship? Which proceedeth also out of two causes, whereof the one I haue commended before, in that idlenes is euery where forbidden there, and euery man compeld to worke; no man suffered to be idle, no not the blinde, nor the lame, nor the maimed, if they bee not altogether impotent and weake. And the women also, by a law of *Vitel* King of *China*, are bound to exercise their fathers trades and Artes, and how noble or how great soeuer they be, they must at least attend their distaffe and their needell. The other cause is, that the sonnes must of necessity follow their fathers mysteries. So that hereupon it comes, that Artificers are infinit; and that children, aswell boyes as gyrles, euen in their infancy, can skill to worke, and that Artes are brought vnto most excellent and hygh perfection.

They

They suffer not any thing to goe to losse. With the dong of the bulles and oxen, and other cattell, they vse to feed fishe; and of the bones of dogges and other beasts, they make many and diuers carued and engraueu workes, as we doe make of Iuory. Of ragges and cloutes, they make paper; To be short, such is the plentie and varietie of the fruites of the earth, and of mans industrie and labor, as they haue no need of forreine helpe to bring them any thinge: For, they giue away a great quantite of their owne, to forreine countreys. And, (to speake of no things else) the quantitie of Silke that is caried out of *China*, is almost not credible. A thousand quintals of silke are yerely caried thence for the *Portugalls Indies*; for the *Philippinaes* they lade out fiftene shippes. There are carried out to *Giapan* an inestimable summe; and vnto *Cataia* as great a quantitie as you may gesse by that we haue before declared; is yearly carryed thence to *Chiambalu*. And they sell their works and their labors (by reason of the infinit stoare that is made) so cheape and at so easy price, as the Marchants of *Noua Hispania* that trade vnto the *Philippinaes* to make their martes (vnto which place the *Chinaes* themselues doe traffique) do wonder at it much. By meanes whereof, the traffique with the *Philippinaes*, fals out to bee rather hurtfull then profitable vnto the King of *Spaine*. For, the benefit of the cheapnes of things, is it, that makes the people of *Mexico* (who heretofore haue vsde to fetch their commodities from *Spaine*) to fetch them at the *Philippinaes*. But the King of *Spaine*, for the desire

*Chiambalu.*

he hath to winne vnto familiarity and loue, and by that meanes to draw to our christian faith and to the bosome of the catholique church, those people that are wrapt in the horrible darkenes of idolatrie; esteemeth not a whit of his losse, so he may gayne their soules to God.

By these things I haue declared, it appeareth plaine, that *China* hath the meanes, partly by the benefit of Nature, and partly by the industry and Art of man, to susteine an infinit sight of people. And that for that cause, it is credible ynough, that it becometh so populous a cuntry as hath been said. And I affirme this much more vnto it, that it is necessarie it should be so, for two reasons; the one, for that it is not lawfull for the King of *China* to make warre to get new countries, but onely to defend his owne, and thereupon it must ensue, that he enioyeth in a manner, a perpetuall peace. And what is there more to be desired or wisht, than peace? VVhat thing can be more profitable than peace? My other reason is, for that it is not lawfull for any of the *Chinnes* to goe out of their country, without leaue or lycence of the Magistrates. So that, the number of persons continually encreasing, and abyding still at home; it is of necessity, that the number of people do become inestimable, and of consequence, the Cities exceeding great, the townes infinit, and that *China* it selfe should rather in a manner, be but one bodie and but one Citie.

To say the truth, wee Italians do flatter our selues too much, and do admire too partially those things that



that do concerne our selues; especially when we will preferre *Italy*, and her Cities beyond all the rest in the world. The shape and figure of *Italy*, is long and streyte, deuided withall in the middest with the *Apenine Hills*. And the paucitie and rarenes of Nauigable Riuers, doth not beare it, that there can be very great and populous Cities in it. I will not spare to say, that her riuers are but little brookes in comparilon of *Ganges*, *Menan*, *Meacon*, and the rest: And that the *Tyrrhenian* and the *Adriatick* Seas are but gullets in respect of the *Ocean*. And of consequence our trade and traffique is but poore, in respect of the Marts and fayres of *Canton*, *Malacca*, *Calicut*, *Ormuz*, *Lisbon*, *Siuill*, and other Cities that bound vpon the *Ocean*.

Let vs adde to these aforesaid, that the difference and enmity betweene the *Mahumetanes* and vs, depriveth vs in a manner of the commerce of *Africk*, and of the most part of the trade of the *Leuant*. Againe, the chiefeſt parts of *Italy*; that is, the Kingdome of *Naples*, and the Dukedome of *Milan*, are subiect to the King of *Spaine*. The other States are meane, and meane also the chiefeſt of their Cities: But, it is time wee now returne from whence wee haue digressed long.

The residence of Princes is so powerfull and so mighty, as it alone is sufficient ynough to set vp and forme a Citie at a trice. In *Ethiop* (*Francis Alua-Ethiop. rez* writeth) there is not a towne (although the cuntry be very large) that containeth aboue a thousand and six hundred houses, and that of this  
great-

*The great  
Nego.*

greatnes there are but few. For all that, the King (called by them the great *Nego*, and falsely by vs the *Prete Iohn*) who hath no setteled residence; representeth with his only court, a mighty great Citie; for as much as where soeuer he be, he shadoweth with an innumerable sight of tents and pauilions, many miles of the country.

*Asia.*

In *Asia*, the Cities of accompt, haue been all of them, the Seates of Princes; *Damascus*, *Antioche*, *Angori*, *Trebysonda*, *Bursia*, & *Hierusalem*. But let vs passe ouer into *Europe*. The translating of the imperiall Seate, diminished the glory of Rome, and made *Constantinople* great, which is mainteyned in her greatnes and Maiesty with the residence of the great Turke.

*Constanti-  
nople.*

This Citie, standeth in the fairest, the best, and most commodious Scite that is in the world. It is Seated in *Europe*; but *Asia* is not from it aboue foure hundred pases. It commaundeth two Seas, the *Euxin* and *Propontis*. The *Euxin* Sea, compasseth two thousand and seauen hundred miles. The *Propontis* stretcheth more then two hundred miles, euen till it ioyne with the *Archipelagus*.

*Mare Eux-  
inum.*  
*Propontis.*

*Archipela-  
gus.*

*Constanti-  
nople 12.  
miles about.*

The weather cannot be so fowle, nor so stormy, nor so blustering, as it can hinder in a manner, the shippes from comming with their goods to that same magnificent and gallant Citie in either of those two Seas. Yf this Citie had a royall and a Nauigable Riuer; it would lack nothing. It is thirteene miles about, and this circuit conteineth about a seauen hundred thousand persons. But, the plague makes

makes a mighty slaughter euery third yeare amongst them. But to say truth, seldome or neuer is that Citie free of the plague. And hereupon is offered a good matter worthy to bee considered, how it comes to passe, that, that same scourge, toucheth it so notably euery third yeare like a Tertian Ague (as in *Cayrus*, it cometh euery seauenth) especially bycause that Citie is seated in a most healthfull place. But I will put off this speculation, to another time, or leaue it to be discussed, by wittes more exercised therein than mine.

Plague euery third yeare in Constantinople.

Plague euery seauenth yeare in Cayrus.

There are within *Constantinople* seauen Hills; neere the Sea syde towards the East, there is the *Serraglio* of the great *Turke*, whose walles are in compasse three miles; There is an *Arsenall* consisting of more then one hundred and thirty Arches to lay their shippes in. To conclude, the Citie is for the beawty of the Scite, for the opportunity of the Portes, for the commodity of the Sea, for the multitude of the Inhabitants, for the greatnes of the traffique, for the residence of the great *Turke*, so conspicuous and so gallant; as without doubt, amongst the Cities of *Europe*, the chiefeest place is due to it. For the very Court alone of that Prince, mainteineth of horsemen and of footmen, not lesse than thirty thousand very well appoynted.

In *Africa*, *Algier*. lately become the Metropolitan of a great State, is now by that meanes growen very populous. *Tremise*, when it flourished, contained a sixteene thousand households. *Tunis*, nine thousand; *Marocco*, an hundred thousand;

*Tunis*.

*Morocco*.

M

Fest,



Fesß.

Fesß, which is at this day the seate of the mighty King of *Africa*, conteineth threescore and five thousand.

France.

Amongst the Kingdomes of Christendome (I speake of the vnited, and of one body) the greatest, the richest and most populous is *France*. For, it conteineth twenty seauen thousand parishes, including *Paris* in them. And the country hath aboue fiftene Millions of people in it. It is also so fertile, through the benefit of Nature, so rich, through the industrie of the people, as it enuieth not any other country. The residence of the Kings of so mighty a Kingdome, hath for a long time hitherto been kept at *Paris*. By the meanes whereof, *Paris* is become the greatest Citie of Christendome. It is in compas twelue miles, and conteineth therein about foure hundred and fiftie thousand persons, and feedeth them with such plenty of victualls, and with such abundance of all delicate and dainty things, as he that hath not seene it, cannot by any meanes imagine it.

*Paris* 12.  
miles in  
compas.

*Paris* con-  
taineth 450  
M. persons.

England.  
*Naples* &c.

The kingdomes of *England*, of *Naples*, of *Portugall*, and of *Boemia*; The Earledome of *Flaunders*, and the Dukedome of *Milan*, are States, in a manner, a like of greatnes and of power. So that the Cities, wherein the Princes of those same kingdomes haue at any time made their residence, haue been in a manner also a like, as *London*, *Naples*, *Lisbon*, *Prage*, *Milan*, and *Gaunt*, which haue each of them a sonder, more or lesse an hundred and threescore thousand persons in them. But, *Lisbon* is in deede somewhat larger

*London*.

*Lisbon*.

then

then the rest, by meanes of the commerce and traf-  
fique of *Ethiop*, *India*, and *Brazil*; as likewise *London* *London*.  
is, by meanes of the warres and troubles in the lowe  
countrie. And *Naples* is within these thirty yeares *Naples*.  
growen as great againe as it was.

In *Spaine*, there is not a Citie of any such greatnes, *Spaine*,  
partly bycause it hath been till now of late, deuided  
into diuers little kingdomes; and partly, bycause  
through want of nauigable Riuers, it cannot bring  
so great a quantitie of foode and victuall into one  
place, as might mainteine therein an extraordinary  
number of people. The Cities of most magnificen-  
cie, and of greatest reputation, are those, where the  
ancient Kings and Princes held their Seates; as *Bar-  
celon*, *Saragosa*, *Valenza*, *Cordoua*, *Toledo*, *Burges*, *Leon*,  
all honorable Cities and populous ynough, but yet  
such as passe not the second rancke of the Cities of  
*Italy*.

Ouer and besides the rest, there is *Granada*, where *Granada*.  
a long time the Moores haue Reigned, and adorned  
the same with many rich and goodly buildings. It  
is scituated, part vpon the Hilles, and part vpon the  
plaine. The hilly part, consisteth of three Hilles  
deuided each from other. It aboundeth of water  
of all sortes, with the which, is watered a great part  
of her pleasant and goodly country, which is by the  
meanes thereof, so well inhabited and manured, as  
none can be more.

*Sinil* is encreased mightily synce the discovery of *Sinilia* 6.  
the new world. For, thither come the fleetes that *miles about*.  
bring vnto them yearely so much treasure as cannot

be esteemed. It is in compas about six miles; It conteineth foure score thousand persons and aboue. It is scituated on the left shore of the Riuer *Betis*, which otherwise some call *Gnadalchilr*. It is bewtified with fayre and goodly churches, and with magnificent and gorgeous Palaces & buildings. The country there about it, is as fertile, as it is pleasant.

*Vagliadolid.*

*Madrid.*

*Vagliadolid* is not a Citie; but for all that, it may compare with the noblest Cities in *Spaine*; And that, by reason of the residence the King of *Spaine* hath long tyme made there in it: As *Madrid* is at this day much encreased and continually encreaseeth by the Court that King *Phillip* keepeth there: Which is of such efficacie and power, as although the country be neither plentiful nor pleasant, it doth yet draw such a number of people to it, as it hath made that place, of a village, one of the most populous places now of *Spaine*.

*Polonia.*

*Craconium.*

*Vilna.*

*Craconium* and *Vilna* are, the most populous Cities of *Polonia*. The reason is, bycause *Craconium* was the seate of the Duke of *Polonia*, and *Vilna* the seate of the great Duke of *Lituania*.

In the Empire of the *Muscovites*, there are three great and famous Cities; *Valadomere*, the great *Noguardia*, and *Muscovia*; which haue gotten their reputation, bycause they haue been all three of them the seates of great Dukes, and Princes of great dominions. The most renowned of them at this day is *Muscovia*, thorough the residence the Duke holdeth there. It is in length five miles, but not so wide.

*Mosconia.* There is vnto it a very great castell that serues for a Court



Court and Pallace to that same Prince; and it is so populous, that some haue reckoned it amongst the foure Cities of the first and chiefeſt ranckes of Europe; *Moscouia*, which, to their iudgments are, *Moscouia* it ſelfe, *Coſtantino- ple*, *Paris* & *Constantinople*, *Paris*, and *Lisbon*. *Lisbon* the chiefeſt Ci- ties in Eu- rope.

In *Scicilia*, in ancient times paſt, the greateſt Citie there, was *Siracuſa*, which as *Cicero* doth write, conſiſted of foure parts deuided a ſunder, which might be ſaid to be foure Cities. And, the cauſe of her greatnes was, the reſidence of the Kings, or of the Tyrants (as they were termed in tymes paſt) call them as you will. But, when the commerce with the *Africanes* did fayle them afterward, through the deluge of the Infidels; and that the royall ſeate was remoued to *Palermo*; *Palermo* did then encrease apace her glory, and *Siracuſa* did looſe as faſt her luſter.

*Palermo* is a Citie, equall to the Cities of the ſecond ranke of *Italy*; beautified with rich temples and magnificent Palaces, with diuers reliques and goodly buildings made by the Saracines. But, two things chiefly made of late, are worthyſt to be noted. The one, is the ſtreete made throughout the whole Citie, which, for ſtreightnes, breadth, length, and beautifulnes of buildings is ſuch, as I know not in what Citie of *Italy* a man ſhould finde the like. The other is the *Péere*, edified with an ineſtimable expence and charge; by the benefit wherof, the Citie hath a very large and ſpacious Port a worke in truth worthy of the Romanes magnanimity.

But, what meane I to wander thorough other

parts of the world, to shew how much it doth import the greatnes of a Citie, the residence and a bode of a Prince therein? *Rome*, whose Maiesty exceeded all the world, would she not be more like a desert, then a Citie, if the Pope held not his residence therein? if the Pope, with the greatnes of his court, and with the concourse of Embassadours, of Prelats, and of Princes did not ennoble it and make it great? If with an infinit number of people, that serue both him and his ministers, he did not replenish and fill the Citie? If with magnificent buildings, Conduits, Fountaines and streetes, it were not gloriously adorned? If amongst so many riche and stately works, belonging aswell to Gods glory, as the seruice of the common weale, he spent not there a great part of the reuenewes of the church? And, in a word, if with all these meanes, he did not draw and entertaine withall, such a number of Marchants, trades men, Shop-keepers, Artificers, workmen, and such a multitude of people, for labor and for seruice?

OF



OF THE CAUSES OF  
the greatnes and magnificen-  
cy of *Cities*.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CAP. I.

*Whether it be expedient for a Citie, to haue  
few or many Citizens.*



He ancient Founders of ci-  
ties, considering that lawes  
and Ciuile discipline could  
not be easily conserued and  
kept, where a mighty multi-  
tude of people swarmed.  
(For, multitudes do breede  
and bring confusion) they  
lymited the number of Citizens, beyond which,  
they supposed the forme and order of gouernment  
they sought to holde within their Cities, could not  
be else maintayned? Such were *Licurgus*, *Solon*, and  
*Aristotle*. But, the Romanes, supposing power  
(without which, a Citie cannot be long maintained)  
consisteth



consisteth for the most part in the multitude of people, endeouored all the wayes and meanes they might, to make their country great, and to replenish the same with store of people, as we haue before, and more at full declared in our bookes *della ragion di stato*.

Yf the world would be gouerned by reason, and all men would content them selues with that, which iustly doth belong vnto them: Happely the iudgment of the ancient law makers were worthy to be imbraced. But, experience shewes, through the corruption of humane nature, that force preuailes aboue reason, & armes aboue lawes; & teacheth vs besides, the opiniõ of the Romanes must be preferd before the Grecians; Inasmuch as we see the Athenians and the Lacedemonians (not to speake of other cõmon weales of the Græcians) came to present ruine, vpon a very small discomfiture & losse of a thousand & seuen hūdreth Citizens or little more. where, on the other side, the Romæes triumphed in the end though many times they lost an infinit number of their people in their attemptes & enterprises. For it is cleere, more Romæes perished in the warres they had against *Pyrrhus*, the Carthaginensians, Numantians, Viriatus, Sertorius, and others, than fell without comparison of all their enemies. And yet for all that, they rested alwaies conquerors by meanes of their vnexhausted multitudes with the which, supplying their losse from time to time, they overcame their enemies asmuch, though they were strong and fyerce, as with their fortitude and strength. In these

*Drauidius*  
17. thousand.

these former bookes, I haue sufficiently declared the waies and meanes whereby a City may encrease to that magnificency and greatnes that is to be desired. So that I haue no further to speake thereunto, but only to propound one thing more that I haue thought vpon, not, for the necessitie so much of the matter, as that, bycause I think it will be an ornament vnto the worke, and giue a very good light vnto it. And therefore let vs now consider.

CAP. II.

*What the reason is, that Cities once grown  
to a greatnes, encrease not onward  
according to that pro-  
portion.*



Et no man thinke, the wayes and meanes afore said, or any other that may bee any waye deuised, can worke or effect it that a Citie may go on in increase, without ceassing.

And therefore it is in truth a thing worth the consideration, how it comes to passe, that Cities grown to a poynt of greatnes and power, passe no further; but either stand at that staye, or else returne backe againe. Let vs take for our example *Rome*.

*Rome* at her begynning, when she was founded and built by *Romulus* (as *Dionisius Halicarnassensis* writeth) was able to make out 3300. fit men for the warres. *Romulus* reigned thirty seauen yeares, with

N

in the

in the compas of which time, the Citie was encreased euen to 47 000. persons fit to beare armes. About 150. yeares after the death of *Romulus*, in the time of *Seruius Tullius*, there were numbred in Rome 80. thousand persons fit for armes. The number in the end, by little and little grew to 450. thousand.

My question therefore is, how it comes to passe, that from three thousand and three hundred men of warre, the people of Rome grew to 450. thousand; and from 450. thousand, they went no further: And in like manner, syth it is 400. yeares, since *Milan* and *Venice* made as many people as they do at this day; How it doth also come to passe, that the multiplicacion goes not onward accordingly.

Some answer, the cause hereof, is, the plagues, the warres, the dearthes and other such like causes. But this giues no satisfaction. For, plagues haue euer been: And, warres haue been more common and more bloody in former times, than now. For, in those dayes they came to hand strokes by and by, and to a maine pictht battayle in the field, where there were within three or foure houres more people slaine, than are in these dayes in many yeares. For, warre is now drawn out of the field to the walles, and the mattock and the spade, are now more vsed than the sword. The world besides, was neuer without alteration and change of plenty and of dearth, of health, and of plagues. Whereof I shall not need to bryng examples, bycause the histories are full.

Now



Now, if Cities with all these accidents and chances begun at first with few people, encrease to a great number of inhabitants; How comes it that proportionably, they do not encrease accordingly?

Some others say, it is, bycause God the gouernor of all things, doth so dispoſe, no man doth doubt of that. But, forasmuch as the infinit wiſedome of God, in the adminiſtration and the gouernment of nature, worketh ſecondary cauſes: My queſtion is, with what meanes that eternall prouidence maketh little, to multiply; and much, to ſtand at a ſtay, and go no further.

Now, to anſwere this propounded queſtion; I ſay, the ſelfe ſame queſtion may be alſo made of all mankinde: Forasmuch as within the compaſſe of three thouſand yeares, it multiplied in ſuch ſort from one man and one woman, as the prouinces of the whole continent, and the Ilands of the Seas, were full of people: Whence it doth proceed, that from thoſe three thouſand yeares to this day, this multiplicati- on hath not exceeded further.

Now, that I may the better reſolue this doubt; I purpoſe ſo to anſwere it; As, mine anſwere, may not only ſerue for the Cities, but alſo for the vniuerſal theater of the world.

I ſay then, that the augmentation of Cities, proceedeth partly out of the vertue generatiue of men, and partly out of the vertue nutritiue of the Cities. The vertue generatiue, is without doubt to this day, the very ſame, or at leaſt, ſuch as it was before three thouſand yeares were paſt. Forasmuch as men

are at this day as apt for generation, as they were in the times of *David* or of *Moses*. So that if there were no other impediment or let therein, the propagation of man kinde, would encrease without end, and the augmentation of Cities would bee without terme. And, if it do not encrease in infinit; I must needs say, it proceedeth of the defect of nutriment and sustenance sufficient for it.

Now, nutriment and victualls are gotten, eyther out of the Territories belonging to the Citie, or out of forreine coutries. To haue a City great & populous; It is necessary that victualls may be brought frō far vnto it. And that victualls may be brought frō remote & forraine parts vnto it; It behooues that her vertue attractiue bee of such power & strength, as it be able to ouercome the hardnes & the sharpnes of the regions, the heighth of the mountaines, the descent of the valleies, the swiftnes of the Riuer, the rage of the Seas, the dangers of the Pyrats, the vncerteinty of the windes, the greatnes of the charge, the euill passage of the waies, the enuie of the bordering neighbours, the hatred of enemies, the emulation of cōpetitors, the lēgth of the time that is required for transportation, the dearthes & necessities of the places frō whence they must be brought, the naturall dissension of nations, the contrariety of sects & opinions in religion, and other such like things, all which encrease as the people increafe and the affaires of the Citie. To conclude, that it grow to be so mighty and so great, as it can ouercome all the diligence and all the industrie that man can vse whatsoeuer. For, how shall  
Mer.



Merchants be perswaded they can bring corne, for exaple, out of the *Indies* or *Cataia* to *Rōe*, or the *Romanes* expect to haue it thence? But, admit that either of them could so perswade themselves; who can yet assure them, the seasons wilbe alwayes good for corne, that the people stand to peace & quietnes, that the passages be open, and the waies be safe? Or what forme, or what course can be taken to bring prouision to Rome, by so long a way by land, in such sort and manner as the conductors thereof may bee able to endure the trauaile and to wyeld the charge thereof? Now, any one of these impediments or lettes, without adding moe, to ouerwhelme and crosse it more; is ynough to dissipate and scatter quite a sonder the people of a City destitute of helpe and subiect to so many accidents and chances. Euen one dearth one famine, one violence of warre, one interruption or staye of trade and traffique; one common losse to the Marchants, or other such like accident, will make (as the winter doth the Swallowes) the people to seeke another country.

The ordinary greatnes of a Citie, consisteth in these termes, with which it can hardly be contented. For, the greatnes that depēdeth vpon remote causes or hard meanes, cannot long endure. For euery man will seeke his commoditie and ease, where he may finde it best. We must also adde to these things aforesayd, that great cities are more subiect vnto dearthes then the litle. For, they neede more sustentance and victualles. The plague also, afflicteth them more sorely and more often, with greater losse



of people. And to speake in a word, great Cities are subiect to all the difficulties and hardnes wee haue before declared, bycause they need a great deale more.

So that, although men were as apt to generation in the height and pride of the Romanes greatnes, as in the first beginning thereof : Yet for all that, the people encreased not proportionably. For, the vertue nutritiue of that Citie, had no power to go further. So that in successe of time, the Inhabitants finding much want, and lesse meanes to supply their lacke of victuall; either forbare to marry, or, if they did marry, their children oppressed with penury, their parents affording them no reliefe, fled their country, and sought abroad for better fortune. To the which inconuenience, the Romanes willing to prouide a remedy ; they made choyse of a number of poore Citizens, and sent them into *Colonies* ; where, like trees transplanted, they might haue more roome to better themselves both in condition and commoditie, and by that meanes encrease and multiply the faster.

By the selfe same reason, man kinde growen to a certaine compleate number, hath growen no further. And it is three thousand yeares agone and more, that the world was replenished as full with people, as it is at this present. For, the fruites of the earth, and the plenty of victuall, doth not suffice to feede a greater number. In *Mesopotamia*, man kinde did first beginne to propagate. From thence by successe of time, it increased and spread apase daily  
both

both far and neere. And hauing replenished the firmeland, they transported themelues into the Ilands of the Sea; & so from our countries, they haue at length arriued by little and little, to the countries we call the new world. And what is there vnder the Sunne, that doth make man, with more horrible effusion of blood to fight for, and with more cruelty, than the earth, foode, and commodity of habitation? The *Sueuians* accounted it an honour and a glory to them, to bring their cōfines by many hundred miles into a wast and wildernes. In the new world, in the Ile of Saint *Dominick* and the borders thereabout, the people chase and hunt men, as wee do deere and hares. The like doe many of the people of *Brafill*, especially they, whome we call *Aymurij*: Who teare in peeces and deuour young boyes and young gyrles aliue, and open the bellies of the women great with childe; And take the creatures out, and in the presence and sight of the fathers themselues, eat them roasted vpon the coales; a most horrible thing to heare, much more to see it.

The people of *Ghynea* for the most part, liue so poore and needy, as they dayly sell their owne children for very vile price to the Moores, who carry them into Barbary, and to the Portugals, who send them to their Ilands, or sell them to the Castiglians for the new world. The people of *Peru* do the like, who for little more than nothing, giue their children to them will haue them: which proceedeth of misery, and of the impotency they haue to bring them vp, and to maintaine them.

The *Tartarians*

tarians, and the Arabians, liue vpon stealth and rapine. The Nasomonj, and the Cafrij; the most sa- uage and barbarous people of all *Aethyop*, liue vpon the spoyles of others Shipwrackes, as the Portugalls haue many times felt.

It is also a thing knowen to all men, how oft the French, the Dutche, the Gothes, the Hunnes, the A- uarij, the Tartars, and diuers other nations, vnable, through their infinit multitude of people to liue in their owne countries, haue left their confines, and possessed themselves with other mens countries, to the vtter ruine and destruction of the inhabitants therein. Hence it came to passe, that within few Ages, all the Prouinces of *Europe* and of *Asia*, be- came possessed in a manner, of strange people, fled and run out of their countries and habitations, ey- ther for the mightie multitude of people their coun- trie could not sustaine; or for desire they had to lead a more commodiouse and easie life else where, in greater plenty of good things.

The multitude againe of theues and murderers, whence doth it I pray you, for the most part grow, but of necessitie and want? differences, Suites, and quarells, whence do they proceede, but out of the streightnes and the scantnes of confines? boundaries, ditches, hedges, and enclosures, which men make about their Farmes and Manors: watchmen of the viniardes and of ripe fruites, Gates, Lockes, Rolltes, and Mastiues kept about the house; what do they argue else, but that the world is hard, and either mi- nistred not sufficient to our necessities, or satisfieth

not



not our greedy couetous desires? And what shall I remember armes, of so many kindes, and of so cruell sortes? what shall I speake of continuall warres both on Sea and Land, that bringeth all things vnto viter ruine? what of fortes on passages? what of Garrysons, Bulwarkes and Munition?

Neither doth this Lake of mischeifes containe all. For, I must adde to these, the barrennes of Soyles, the Scarcitie and dearthes of victuall, the euill influence of the ayre, the contagiouse and dangerous diseazes, the Plagues, the Earthquakes, the Inundacions both of Seas and Riuer, and such other accidents which destroy and ouerthrow, now a Citie, now a kingdome, now a people, now some other thing, and are the let and stay, that the number of men cannot encrease and grow immoderately.

CAP. III.

*Of the Causes that do concerne the  
Magnificency and greatnes  
of a Citie.*

**N**ow only resteth, hauing brought our City to that dignity & greatnes, which the condition of the Scite and other circumstances afford vnto it: that we labor to conserue, to maintaine and vphold the dignitie and greatnes of the same. And, to speake all at a word: these helpes may very well serue to do it: that is Iustice, Peace, and Plenty. For, Iustice assureth

euery man his owne. Peace causeth tillage, trade  
and Artes to flourish. And, Plenty of foode and  
viſtuall, ſuſteineth the life of man with eaſe and  
much contentment to him. And, the people im-  
brace nothing more gladly, than plenty of corne.  
To conclude, all thoſe things that cauſe the great-  
nes of a Ciue, are alſo fit to conſerue the ſame.

For, the cauſes, aſwell of the produ-  
ction of things, as alſo of the conſer-  
uation of them, are euer all  
one and the ſame,  
whatſoeuer  
they be.

IOHAN-



IOHANNES BOTERVS IN  
HIS SIXT BOOKE  
*del ragione di stato.*

CAP. IIII. Of Colonies.



*He Romanes, to kepe their enemies vnder, and to hold the stout and warlike people downe In the beginning of their Empire, they founded and set up Colonies in their confines: where, placing a good number of their owne Citizens, or of the*

*Latins their fellowes and companions (on whome they bestowed the lands and goodes they got and tooke from their enemies by warre) they did the better secure themselves from sodaine assaults.*

*Here a question may very well be made, which is the greater safety of the twaine, the Colonie or the Fortresse? But without doubt, the Colonie is the better. For, that includeth a Fortresse, but not è contra.*

*The Romanes, (expert men in gouernment of States) used Colonies a great deale more, and tooke more good by Colonies, than they did by Fortresses. But in our time, Fortes are a great deale more in vse, then Colonies. For, they are more easily prepared, and happely of more present good. For, Colonies require much dexterity and wisdom in the establisshing and setting them in order. And, the benefit and good that proceedeth of them (for they cannot grow to maturisy and perfection without*



some time) is not had by and by. Howbeit, Colonies are much much more safe; and almost a perpetuall profit is euer in them; As Septa and Tanger can witnes the truth hereof; Townes of much importance to the Portugalls in the Coast of Mauritania; which, reduced to the forme of Colonies, haue valiantly fought against the power and force of Seriffo, and the Barbarians.

Calys witnesseth asmuch, an English Colonie, brought thither by Edward the third. An. Dom. 1347. And it was the last Towne that country lost in the firme land.

It is no wisdom yet, to set vp Colonies far off, in places too remote from your state and gouernment. For, in that case, it being no easie thing for you to succor them; they must either become a praye to their enemies, or else gouerne themselves as the occasion and time doth offer, without respect had of their originall beginning, or of whome they depend. A number of the Colonies, of the Græcians and Phœnicians, which they had planted vpon all the regions almost of the Mediterranean Seas, haue done the like. But, the Romanes considering this inconuenience, established more iudicially, more Colonies in Italie, then in all the rest of their Empire else besides. And out of Italy they carryed none, till after the sixt hundred yeare that Rome was built: And the first were Carthage in Africk, and Narbona in France.

In the lawes of the Gracchians, Paterculus found fault that they had made Colonies out of Italie. Which the ancient Romanes did auoyde; finding how much more powerfull Carthage was become, then Tyrus; Marsiles, then Phocæa; Siracusa, then Corinth; Bizantium, then Milerum; Vt Colonos Romanos ad censendum ex prouin-

prouincijs in Italiam reuocarent. That they might recall into Italie out of their Prouinces, there to be taxed, those Romanes, who were translated into their Colonies.

I will not leaue vnspoken what Tacitus writeth of the disorders growe in the planting of Colonies. The Cities of Taranto and of Anzo greatly wanting of inhabitants, Nero sent thither the old trayned soldiers; who for all that, yealded small helpe to the solitarines of those forsaken places. For, the most part of them returned into the Prouinces, where they had ended the time of their warfare. For, not being vsed to the lawes of iust matrimony, nor to the charge of education of children, they left their houses without posteritie.

This mischiefe grew, bycause the entier legions with Tribunes, with Centurions, and with Soldiers, each in his order, were not sent, as in ancient times past was wont to be, to the end that common weales might be founded and maintained with concord and with charitie; But men, that knew not one another, onfisting of diuers companies, without a hedd, & without mutuall affection, drawen upon the sodaine into one place together, made rather up a number, than a Colonie.

**O** Foras



Forasmuch as mention is made in this Treatise, of diuers Townes & Cities not described therein at full, which happely the reader would long to heare for the rarenes and nouelties of them: Hauing perused an other booke of the author here of entituled : *Relationes Vniuersales* : wherein I found some of those Townes and Cities dispersedlie in diuers places of that booke, described more at large : I haue for the readers better satisfaction and delight, chosen out some such as I found to my liking, which here present themselves as followeth.

*Cuzco.*

**T**Here followeth in 17. degrees Southward, the Citie of *Cuzco*; in a scituacion enuironed with mountaines. It hath a Castle built of Stone, so great and so huge; that it seemeth rather the worke of Gyants, than of ordinary men : especially forasmuch as those people had neither Beastes to drawe them to the place, or vse of Iron tooles to worke withall. This Citie was the Seate of the *Inga*, or King of *Peru*, and the Metropolitan of the Empire. There was not in it any thing else, that, either for greatnes or for policy deserued the name of a Citie. It had



It had great streetes, but narrow, and houses made of Stone ioyned together with maruailous care and diligence. But the ordinary dwellings were built of timber, and couered with thatche. There was in *Cuzco* the rich temple of the Sun. There was also diuers other Palaces of the King of Gold and Silver without end. There was a large and spacious market place, out of which were drawen foure waies, to foure Ports of the Empire. The Kings of *Peru*, to appopulate & ennoble this Citie, ordayned that e- uery King or Prince should build his Palace, and send his children thither to inhabit there. And, to shew the largnes of the Empire, and the sundry na- tions that were subiect thereunto; commanded that euery one should apparell theselves, according to the attire and fashion of their owne natiue coun- trie, and that they should also carry some certaine note thereof vpon their hedds: An inuention that bare a braue and gallant shew. This Citie was re- edified after a new forme in the yeare 1534. by *Francesco Bizzaco*. It containeth 50. thousand inha- bitants, and within the compasse of ten leagues a- bout it, two hundred thousand. It hath a territory full of pleasant, rych, and goodly valleis: I meane these *Antaguayla*, *Xaguisana*, *Bilcas*, and *Succay*. This last, is of such a notable good ayre, so pleasant, so temperat, and of such a gallant and delightfull scite, as it would not be sleightly passed ouer here. It is all bestrewed ouer thicke, as it were, with sumptu- ous country houses of the Spaniards, and full of great and well peopled townes of *Cuzcanes*. Our  
country

countrie fruits prosper aswell there, as they do in  
*Spaine.*

*Ormuz.*

**O**rmuz, imbraceth a part of *Arabia Felix*, and the best Ilands of the *Persian Sea*, with that part of the coast of *Persia* which is watered with the Rivers *Tubo*, *Tisnido*, and *Dritto*. The chiefeft part of the Kingdome, is the Iland of *Ormuz*, which is scituated in the mouth of the haven, distant from *Arabia*, thirtie, and from *Persia*, nyne miles. It hath two Portes, diuided with a long ridge of land running into the Sea like a tongue, the one in the East, the other on the West. It hath a hill, that on the one side is of brimstone, and on the other side of salt. It hath no other water than of three welles. And it is barren almost of euery thing else, & for all that, it aboundeth with all manner of delicacies and deinties, aswell as it doth of all necessities else besides, thorough the goodnes and opportunity of the Scite. Forasmuch as great wealth and riches are brought thither out of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and out of *Cambaia*, and out of the *Indies*. Inasmuch as the Moores say, that if the world were a Ring, *Ormuz* should be their Inell. The Marchants of all nations vse to trade thither. The naturall people there, are partly *Arabians*, and partly *Persians*, (the *Arabians* of a yealowish colour, & the *Persians* of a white) of a good aspect and much giuen to Musick, to neatnes and to cleaynes, to the knowledge of Histories  
and



and other such like pleasant studies. The King  
 (which is a Mahumetan) draweth out of the cus-  
 tomes of the Citie of Ormuz 140. thousand *Serafi*; *Serafo, is a*  
 out of *Arabia* twentie eight thousand; out of *Mo-* *coyne in In-*  
*gosta* a cuntry in *Persia*, seauenteene thousand. *dia worth*  
*Babaren* yealded vnto him 40. thousand. His reue- *4. billings*  
 nues would be doubled, if exemptions had not been *Sterl. and of*  
 graunted to the Kings of *Persia*, and to other States, *Spanish mo-*  
 and the Portugalls for the goods they enter in their *8. which is*  
 names. He payeth to the King of Portugall, who *4. billings.*  
 holdeth a very strong *Fortresse* there, twenty thou-  
 sand *Seraffes* euerie yeare.

### *Tauris.*

**T** Here followes alongst the Sea, which some call  
*Mar maggiore, Media.* The chieft Citie  
 whereof is *Tauris*, some would that *Tauris*  
 should be *Ecbatana*, the Seate of the ancient Kings of  
*Media.* This Citie is Scituated at the roote of a hill,  
 seauen daies iourney from the *Mare Caspium*, or little  
 more. It hath an wholesome ayer, but wyndy and  
 colde; And the soyle aboundeth with all things.  
 It is sixteene miles about; but some do make it more.  
 It conteineth about two hundred thousand soules.  
 But it hath no building of importance. For many  
 inhabit within the earth, and their houses are of  
 mudd, according to the manner of the East. They  
 lack no Springes, Brookes nor gardeins. Is was  
 sometime that Seate of the Kings of *Persia.* But,  
*Tammas* transferred it to *Cushin.* It was first destroy-



ed by *Selim*, and afterward by *Soliman*. (For, it hath no walles) and after that taken by *Osman* the generall of *Amorat* King of the *Turkes*, who hath there erected a very strong Castell.

*Derbentum.*

**D***erbent* : is seated vnder the commaund of a Hill ; And with two walles, that do extend euen downe to the Sea; It imbraleth the suburbs & the Hauen. One wall is distāt from another, 300. pases. It hath two Iron gates with perpetuall watch & ward. *Arasse* & *Ciro*, two notable & famous Riuer, do make this country fruitfull. It was sometimes vnder the King of *Persia* : But it hath been destroyed by the *Turkes* in the last warres.

*Aleppo.*

**C***omagena*: is that part of *Siria*, that followeth the course of *Euphrates*, euen to the cōfines of *Armenia*. The chiefeſt City therof, is the rich City of *Aleppo*. This City (which holdes the third place amongst the Cities of the *Turkish Empire*) lieth vpon the Riuer *Singa*, & hath a Chāell vnder groūd, which produceth diuers fountaines publique & priuate. It containeth foure hills ; vpon the one of which, is rayſed a goodly caſtell. and it hath great suburbs. It hath no building there of importance, except the Temples and the ſtorehouſes for Marchants of forreyn countries, all of hard quarry ſtoane, archt and vaulted,

vaulted, with fountains in the midst of the courts. It aboundeth of corne, and of the best wyne, and of herbes and of fruites; which are not withstanding exceeding deere, by reason of the quantity that is thereof there spent and eaten. For traffique, he that hath not seene it, will neuer beleue it. For, the Sope only that is made in that country, bringes in 200. thousand crownes a yeare. But, the Art of Silke, is an infinit woorke. There hath been brought from *Venice*, Marchandize for 350. thousand crownes. This great manner of traffique is mightily holpen by the neighborhoode of our Seas, and of *Euphrates*. For, from vs, it is not aboue fife reasonable daies iourney; And from *Euphrates* also lesse. The multitude of the people may be comprehended by this, that in the yeare 1555. betweene the Citie and the Suburbs, there dyed more then an hundred and twenty thousand persons in three monethes.

*Fessa.*

**F**essa: is the fayrest, the greatest, the most populous, and the richest Citie of all *Barbary*; consisting all of it, except the midst, which is playne, in Hilles and mountaines, with a Riuer that crosseth it cleane thorough, and serueth it wonderfull commodiously. It consisteth of three parts, the one, on the East side of the Riuer; And that containeth foure thousand householdes, and is called *Beleyda*; The other on the west side, and hath 70. thousand houses, and is called the old *Fessa*; The third is new *Fessa*,

consisting of eight thousand neighbors. It hath  
 700. *Moschees*. The principall is *Carue*, which is  
 a mile and a halfe in compasse, and hath one and thir-  
 tie gates vnto it. The Marchants haue there a Court  
 enclosed with a wall, with twelue gates and fiftene  
 streetes. There is also a Colledge, amongst ma-  
 ny other, whose buildings cost the King *Abu-*  
*henon* 400. thousand crownes. There  
 are to be seene in the Cities, more the  
 six hundred springs of water,  
 & it is 360. miles vpon  
 the Riuer.

*FINIS.*







A

Briefe Table, directing the Reader  
of this Booke, to the principall things  
in the same.

A	Fol.
<i>Abundance of Corne, Cattell, Wyne, and Fruits in Piemont,</i> <i>more than in other places of Italie,</i>	16.
<i>Academy of Paris well provided for, for the sollace and recre-</i> <i>ation of the Schollers.</i>	43.
<i>Academies of Italie, full of dissolutenes and great disorder.</i>	(42. & 43.)
<i>Academies of Athens and Rhodes, florished most.</i>	44.
<i>Academies would be seated in a good Ayer and pleasant Scitu-</i> <i>ation.</i>	43.
<i>Alexandria, by what meanes it encreased.</i>	66.
<i>Africk, how many people it doth yeild.</i>	81.
<i>Ahchin, a Citie in China.</i>	71.
<i>Antwerpe, a great Citie, and by what meanes.</i>	15.

B

<i>Babylon, her greatnes.</i>	67.
<i>Balsame, the best from Palestine.</i>	55.
<i>Bezaar, from whence the best come:h.</i>	74.
<i>Brescia, the description thereof.</i>	61.

C

<i>Cayrus, why it is called great.</i>	66.
<i>Cayrus, euery senenth yeare visited with a mighty plague.</i>	67.
<i>Canton, a great Citie in Chyna.</i>	73.
<i>Cain, built the first Citie.</i>	2.
<i>Chanells made for transportation of goods &amp; Merchandize.</i>	20.
<i>Chanells in Flaunders.</i>	20.
<i>Chanell in Milan.</i>	21.

Q

Castells

# The Table.

Castells and Towers on Hills and Mountaines, little peopled.	Fol. 27.
China and the prayse thereof.	71.
China, how many people it doth containe, and the multitude thereof.	76. & 78.
China, the description thereof and of her great riches.	74. 75.
Chiambalù, the description thereof.	70.
Citie, said great, not for the Scite and compasse of the walles, but for the multitude of the inhabuants thereof.	1.
Cities how necessary they were to be crected.	2.
Cities built by many Princes, and by whome.	3. & 4.
Cities inhabited and built by the authoritie and power of great Princes.	3.
Cities seated on Hills and Mountaines, for antiquitie most no- ble.	8.
Cities, which are said fayre for Scite, and which for Art.	9.
Cities by what manes they become great.	13.
Cities that serue for passage only, few of them prone great.	14.
Cities grow great by granting freedoms and immunities vnto them.	30.
Cities that are free, more eminent, and better stored with peo- ple, than Cities subiect vnto Monarchies.	32.
Cities made great by imparting their freedoms and their offices, to others.	32.
Cities made great by erectting goodly monuments & buildings in them.	33.
Cities made great by the helpe of neere Colonies about them.	35.
Cities made great by erectting vniuersities in them.	42.
Cities made great by the residence of the Nobility in them.	63.
Cities made great by the residence of the Prince in them.	65.
Cities seated on the Ocean, are the best for Marchandize.	79.
Cities exceeding great, are more subiect to Plagues and dearth, than the lesser Cities are.	81. & 93.
Commodious conduct of ware, is not ynough to make a Citie great, but there must be some other vertue attractive vnto it.	29.
Cities	

# The Table.

Cities once growen to a certaine number, encrease not further on, and the cause why. 92.94.

Cities are maintained by iustice, peace and plenty. 97.

Cities that haue delights and pleasures in them, drawe forreyners to come vnto them. 9.10.11.

Cities which are of greatest reputation in Spaine. 83.

Crema and her beginning. 7.

Children in Chyna, bound to learne their fathers art and occupation. 56.

Cloaues had from the Moluccaes. 55.

Constantinople, the principallest Citie in Europe. 80.81.

Constantinople and the description thereof. 80.

Constantinople euerie third yeare visited with the plague. 81.

## D

Dominion maketh a Citie great, and by what meanes. 60.

Dominion gotten by meere strength and force, holdeth not long. 13.

## E

Aethiop hath no greate Cities. 79.

Europe and her great Cities. 82.

## F

Fraunce, the Nobility and gent. there, do mostly inhabite the country, and not the Cities. 62.

Fraunce, plentifull of all necessary things. 17.

Fraunce, and the greatnes therof, with the number of people it doth containe. 82.

## G

Gaunt, how many people it doth containe. 82.

Genoua, serueth for passage, and yet a great Citie. 15.

God, how he is desired of all creatures. 39.

## H

Hierusalem, the greatest Citie of the East. 36.

Honor, is attayned by Armes and by learning. 41.42.

## I

Immunity, increaseth a Citie. 42.

Immu-



# The Table.

<i>Immunitie, the meanes to cause people to come together.</i>	Fol. 42.
<i>Incense from Sabea.</i>	55.
<i>Idolatry, by whence and for what cause it was set up.</i>	37.
<i>Industrie of man of more importe than the fruitfulness of the land.</i>	48. 49.
<i>Italic, the description thereof.</i>	79.
<i>Iustice ministred with expedition in Rome, England, Scotland, and Turkey.</i>	46.
<i>The Tribunall seat of Iustice, is the most principall member of a State.</i>	46.
<i>The seat of Iustice, makes great repaire to Cities, and makes Cities great.</i>	45. 46.
<b>L</b>	
<i>Lisborne, a great Citie.</i>	15. 82.
<i>Lisborne, how many people it doth conteine.</i>	82.
<i>London encreased by the resort of the Hollanders.</i>	6. 83.
<i>London how many people it doth containe.</i>	82.
<i>Lakes are in a manner little Seas, auante much to people a Citie.</i>	19.
<b>M</b>	
<i>Media, the Kings thereof made their residence in Echata-na.</i>	68.
<i>Memphis and the greatnes thereof.</i>	66.
<i>Milan advanced by the religious life of the Cardinall Boro-meo.</i>	40.
<i>Moscouia, three famous Cities in that Empire.</i>	84.
<i>Mony makes men trudge from place to place.</i>	45.
<i>Multitude breedeth confusion.</i>	87.
<i>Merchandize helpeth greatly to the encrease of a Citie.</i>	55.
<b>N</b>	
<i>Naples, how many people it doth conteine.</i>	81.
<i>Necessity enforceth men to draw themselves together.</i>	4.
<i>Nilus the riuer and his effects.</i>	24. 25.
<i>Niniue, and the greatnes thereof.</i>	67.
	Palermo

# The Table

P	Fol:
Palermo, and the description thereof.	85.
Panchin, a mightie great Citie in China.	72.
Paris exceedeth all the Cities of Cristendome in people and plenty of all things.	24. 44.
Pepper, a good part thereof doth grow in Calicut.	55.
Pearles, where the best are had.	74.
Persia, the Kings therof made their residence in Persepolis.	68.
Pysa grew great upon the sacking of Genoua.	6.
Plague mencioned in Boccace, most fierce and cruell.	54.
Polonia and her Cities.	84.
Ports of the Sea, which are good.	19.
Power consisteth in the multitude of people.	87. 88.
Prage how many people it doth containe.	82.

## R

Reputation of a religious zeale and feare of God, makeith a Citie great.	36.
Residency of the Nobility causeth the encrease of a Citie.	62.
Residency of the Prince, magnifieth a City.	65.
Residency of the Pope causeth the greatnes of Rome.	86.
Rhodes grew great thorough the multitude of Iewes that repaired thither.	6.
Rome and the prayse thereof.	19.
Rome great by the ruine of her neighbour Cities.	7.
Rome great by meanes of her reliques, and the Popes residency therein.	40.
Rivers how much they import for cariage of goods.	20.
Rivers some better then some for transportation.	23.
Rivers of name.	28.
Rivers in Spaine not greatly naviagable.	26.
Romanes, how they came fierce.	21.
Rivers in Italy, but few that are naviagable.	79.

## S

Salonica grew great by the multitude of Iewes that fled thither out of Spaine and Portugall.	6.
--	----

## The Table.

Sarmacanda and the greatnes of it.	69
Sena a riuer, and the properties thereof.	2
Situation, what manner of one is fit to make a Citie great.	13
Spaine containeth no very great Cities.	83
Suntien, a Citie in China, which is in circuit an 100. miles about.	71
Sinamom, a good part thereof doth grow in Zeilan.	31

### T

Tartaria, and the Empire thereof.	68
Tauris a Citie in Persia 16. miles about.	68
Tamberlane, the mighty spoyle and pray he made vpon Damascus.	69
Thebes and the greatnes thereof.	65. 6
Towers the most ancient manner and forme of building that haue.	4. 7
Trades & occupations brought into a City, make it great.	48. 5

### V

Venice by what meanes it grew great.	7. 6
Venice and her prayse.	1
Venice serues for passage, and yet a great and mighty City.	1
Vsages and manners most barbarous, and horrible of the new world and other countries.	9

### W

Water created of God not only for an Element, but also for meanes of transportacion of goods out of one country into another.	1
Water more commodious then the land.	1
Water, one sort more apt to beare burdens then an other.	2
Wayes: 2. most famous, made and cut out of about 2000. miles in length, by the King of Cusco.	2
Waes very bad thorough out Italy.	6
Wooll most excellent in England, and in Spaine.	9

**FINIS.**



69.  
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